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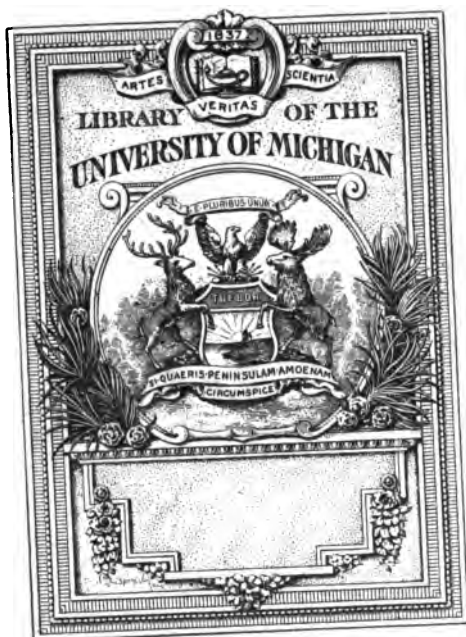
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1853 Feb
Estwick

A letter to the
Rev. Josiah Tucker

University of Michigan.



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A
L E T T E R
To the Reverend
JOSIAH TUCKER, D. D.
DEAN of GLOCESTER,
In ANSWER to
His Humble Address and Earnest Appeal, &c.
WITH A
P O S T S C R I P T,
IN WHICH
The present WAR against AMERICA
Is shewn to be
T H E E F F E C T,
Not of the CAUSES assigned by Him and Others,
BUT OF A FIXED
PLAN of ADMINISTRATION,
FOUNDED in SYSTEM:
The LANDED opposed to the COMMERCIAL
INTEREST of the STATE,
Being as the MEANS in order to the END.

By SAMUEL ESTWICK, LL.D. Assistant Agent
for the Island of Barbadoes.

Vi aut Fraude fit Injuria. Cic. Off. lib. i. § 13.

L O N D O N :
Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.
M.DCC.LXXVI.

A
LETTER, &c.

Reverend Sir,

HAVING had at three different times, three different opinions, concerning you and your project, for "a separation of the colonies in North America from Great Britain," I shall in this letter, with your leave (or without it) take the liberty to tell you what these opinions are; and having so done, resting on my last opinion, your "humble address, and "earnest appeal, &c. &c." will become the object of my answer.

My first opinion, in language more expressive than my own, was;

That, "*Actio non mala, cum intentio sit*
"*bona.*"

My second,

That, Your politics were bad, but your policy was good.

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My third,

That, Your end is wicked, and your means are worse.

Now, however great my astonishment was, at this serious avowal of such a barefaced solecism in politics, if I might use the expression; yet having not then read what you had published on the subject, I was willing, not only to allow you what other projectors are commonly entitled to, "*the merit of a good intention,*" but I became, in some degree, your advocate also. I considered, that as solecisms in language were sometimes pardonable, for "*Impetratum est à ratione, ut peccare suavitatis causâ liceret;*" so solecisms in politics, for similar reasons, might claim the same indulgence. With this consideration then, and because I well knew that nothing could at that time, I will not say at this, be so big with horror to the children colonies in America, as a disinherison from their parent-state, I inferred, that you, aware of these feelings in them, had thus rung the alarm-bell of separation, but to resolve its discordant sounds, through the medium of their fears, into measures of more perfect harmony. This, I persuaded myself to think; might have been the object of your intention; and if so, like the "*suavitatis causâ,*" it had justified the "*peccare liceret.*"

Upon this ground then was this my first opinion formed; and upon this ground it was my design to have left it: but being called
4 upon,

upon, in a letter from a friend of mine, for the communication of my sentiments to him on the subject of your "*modest proposal*," as he termed it, I returned him the following answer; which I here give you the exact copy of, as being explanatory both of the reasons for, and the occasion of, my second opinion.

Dear Sir,

When I received the favour of your letter, requiring my thoughts on the dean of Gloucester's *modest proposal*, as you *modestly* called it, I had not then read his political tracts; which will be now an apology to you for the delay of my answer. I have since read them, and find that I might have saved myself the trouble of doing so: for when long strings of arguments are produced, and, after being twisted together, are made to end conclusively in a single proposition self-evidently absurd, what arguments more are necessary for decision than the proposition itself contains? To appeal, in such a case, to arguments, is like calling for evidence in court after the prisoner has pleaded guilty at the bar. Even so it is here: for after being

"About it, and about it,

"And about this same song;

"And, good gods! and about it,

"For I know not how long,"

The whole burthen of the song is; that, "a separation from the colonies in North America is for the interest and advantage of Great Britain."

Now

Now to reason upon this proposition is to be offensive to your understanding; for who is it that, comprehending the terms of it only, can need any other *data* than the terms themselves, to form an opinion upon it? Besides, it is making that to be serious, which is in itself truly ridiculous.

What, therefore, remains to be done?--Monsieur Pascal says, "*Qu'on peut refuter par des railleries les erreurs ridicules*;" and Lord Shaftesbury asserts, that "Ridicule is the test of truth." This subject may, perhaps, prove the truth of this test. Let me then call upon you, in my turn, to try this Dean and his doctrine by this fire-ordeal. I am myself unequal to the task. It is Attic-salt, such only as yours is, that can kindle such a flame. You know I am no stranger to your talents in this way: the dressing you have but now given to "Wesley's calm Address," and for the sight of which my thanks are due, sufficiently proves to me, that to attempt with you is to succeed; and, therefore, as I shall expect my gratification herein, so I can conceive no spectacle so ridiculous, as that of this politician-divine, with his political tracts, instead of burning-irons, in his hands, trudging upon, and sweating over, the red-hot plowshares of your wit.

Whilst you are thus engaged, it may not be amiss that you take some notice too of your old acquaintance, "Marmor Norfolciance," *alias*, Doctor Dictionary Johnson; who, for
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the same offence, merits the same discipline. This *British lion* that was, but who is now changed into a *Hanover white-horse*, has lately published a pamphlet, as no doubt you have heard, entitled, "Taxation no Tyranny;" in which, by the bye, and as two of a trade can never agree, he is ridiculously merry on the Dean's ridiculous proposal, as he calls it. He says, "The Dean of Gloucester has proposed, "and seems to propose it seriously, that we "should at once release our claims, declare "the Americans masters of themselves, and "whistle them down the wind." And in in another place he adds, "One ridiculous "proposal is best answered by another." But who could have thought that the compiler of a dictionary, whose object was definition, tho', it is true, his end very far from it, would ever gravely have coupled two terms so equivocally together? "Taxation no Tyranny," quoth the lexicographer. Now if, on the one hand, he means, that legal or constitutional taxation is no tyranny; *à la bonne heure*: agreed; for who can deny it? And why, therefore, is the public to be *bored* (to give you a *bon ton* term) with arguments, proving that, of which every individual is already convinced? On the other hand, if he means that illegal or unconstitutional taxation, such as the levying of ship-money, which brought a Stuart's head to the block, or raising the $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent* duty on the West-India islands by proclamation, as has been attempted, or by act of parliament, as may be attempted, is no tyranny; of such arguments

ments as these what common-sense could bear the insult? Thus, you perceive, the very *title-page* of the doctor, like the *modest proposal* of the Dean, not only condemns and executes itself, but plainly foretells, that there is not a page in his phamplet which deserves to be read. Leaving then the doctor in your hands, I return to the Dean, as yet in my own. And here I must observe, that whatever absurdity may attend this paradoxical proposition of his, I do not therefore mean to fix the charge of ignorance upon him: on the contrary, I am of opinion, that he has proved himself, to speak after the manner of Sir William Temple, *very ingeniously politic*, by shewing that *bad politics may be the result of good policy*; the former serving but as a foil to set off the lustre of the latter.

It was with this clew that I was enabled to trace him in the traces of his several tracts; and which otherwise had proved untraceable labyrinths to me: for until I saw him through this medium of policy, like Proteus, he seemed a foreteller of events, and like Proteus, differing in appearance to others from myself. At one time indeed, as Swift says, of such another enthusiast, "I verily thought him possessed;" and although not with the devil, with the belief that he was transformed, by reason of his priesthood, and because his name was Josiah, into Joshua, the chosen of God. This Joshua, as it is said, you know, made the sun and the moon to stand still in the

the natural world for a day and a night, without any *derangement* in nature, or other inconvenience, than merely that of puzzling Julius Cæsar, when he reformed the Roman calendar, to account for this stagnation of time. Now Josiah, it would seem, in the political world, meant to do the same: for a stoppage at the bank, and a check upon commerce, were the obvious effects of his plan; and here the bank is the sun, and commerce the moon that receives its existing light from that sun. There was this difference indeed, that the chancellor of the exchequer would find it more puzzling to balance his cash-book in this case, than Julius Cæsar did to settle his account of time in the other.

But now attributing to natural sagacity, what before I had imputed to supernatural agency, I must do the Dean the justice to say, that no man seems to understand the policy of absurdity better than himself. By policy, you will of course suppose me to mean, not that efficient of all wisdom, which true policy is; but that Machiavelian policy, that ape of wisdom, called state-craft, of which Governor Hutchinson justifies the exercise in America, and by which, ever since the noble Scotch lawyer has been the ignoble English statesman, every measure of government has been so particularly marked and directed. This is the policy of the Dean, and inasmuch as there is merit in this, to that merit he is justly entitled. He well knows, both from history and
 B experience,

experience, that it is the nature of man *most* to believe what *least* he comprehends: that *credo quia impossibile est*, is a maxim of the state as well as of the church; and that hence the greatest absurdities in both have ever been best received: that singularity, novelty, flat contradictions of right, bold assertions of wrong, are the all-fours upon which *popularities* take their career. Thus the quack-doctor knows, and there are quack-doctors of various denominations, that the tincture of absurdity is the best vehicle of his nostrums; and that with the least mixture of reason they would never go down with the public. For this reason, the state-doctor, Dictionary Johnson, cries out for fleets and for armies for America; and, treating the body politic, as the French doctors do the body natural, maintains, that the best cure for a fever is to bleed the patient into a consumption. This method of cure I had like once to have experienced myself, and therefore may venture to pronounce it a practice ill suited, at least, to an *English constitution*. On the same ground, our trade-doctor here, his dealership, declares; that to cut off the resources of a kingdom is the ready means of increase, to its wealth and its power: that to leave the commerce of America *open* to the world, is the sure way of *confining* to Great-Britain the advantages of it. If these positions werein telligible, who could believe them? As they are not, they are swallowed up in belief, with the blind avidity of the vulture, that

that ignorant of its fate, feeds on its entrails, and consumes its own life.

So much for the politician. Now a word for the divine : but first attend to what he relates of himself. In the preface to the first four of his tracts, he says, " I have been repeatedly accused of making trade my religion ; and, that according to my theory, the greatest merchant is therefore the best christian. Another bill brought against me is, that I am extremely ignorant in my peculiar profession as a divine ; and, that having dedicated too much of my time to the study of commerce, I have shamefully neglected to cultivate those sciences, which more immediately belong to my clerical profession."

As I have already given the Dean the knowledge due to him in the science of state-craft, it would seem unhandsome in me, especially as he complains so heavily himself of being thought wanting in the sciences more immediately belonging to his clerical profession; not to allow him, at least, as much skill in the science of priest-craft. You will say, perhaps, that a knowledge of the one, necessarily implies a knowledge of the other ; for that state-craft and priest-craft, though not synonyms in language and truth, are evidently so in practice and construction ; and therefore defineable only ; as for example, to *accommodate* : now to *accommodate* is *accommodare* ; and what is *acommodare* ? Why it is to *acommodate* ; and so the one *accommodates* the

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other.

other. But be this as it may, certain it is, that the very reverse of what others accuse the Dean is the truth with me. I contend, that instead of making trade his religion, he means to make religion his trade; and, according to this theory, the best christian is therefore the greatest prelate. With this persuasion then, although the deanery may make the dean a good christian, as no doubt it does, yet wishing, as it is his duty to do, to become a better, I pronounce his *tracts* so many *high-roads* to preferment, *five tricks* for translation, or one entire *volo* in order to a *nolo episcopari*.

But, I find, I am exceeding the limits of a letter: so hoping soon, very soon, to hear from you in the way of my wishes, adieu for the present. I rest

Dear Sir,

Yours, &c. &c.*

Here again, after committing your *tracts* to the company of their fellow-phamphlets in the dusty confines of an unfrequented drawer, and placing their contents, with the rest of the lumber of my head, out of the reach of my memory; you and they had remained undisturbed in the tranquility of oblivion

* Understanding from the gentleman to whom this letter was addressed, that he intended to make use of it in print, as he is since dead, and not knowing into whose hands his papers have fallen; I have judged it right, rather to give a transcript here of the original entire, than by any alterations or omissions to make it differ from itself in any other publication that may possibly be.

livion and neglect : but when I found that (not content to sow, by every species of inflammatory argument, and misrepresented story, the tares of civil discord in the state, contrary to those practical duties of your calling, which preach peace, and love, and brotherly union ; nay, even, by every essay in your power, to sever the empire from itself, against the sense and spirit of that gospel-truth which declares, that " a house divided against itself cannot stand") you had proceeded, boldly persevering in error, to call forth, by " Humble Address, and Earnest Appeal," the *landed* against the *commercial* interest of the nation ; pitting them, at it were, in battle array, the one against the other, and reviving the unnatural distinction equally ruinous to both ; when I understood that this your project of wilful separation, insane as it is, was adopted as the alternative to absolute conquest over, and unconditional submission in America, by a noble law lord, who, though not *really*, is *virtually* at the helm of state, with power and design to steer the imperial vessel on that Scylla, or on this Charybdis : I say, when I perceived that these things were so, my exclamation was, and my opinion is, *that your end is wicked, and your means are worse.*

Having now delivered my opinions, as I had undertaken to do, concerning you and your project ; it needs must, before I proceed any farther, that I say something concerning myself. Conscious of my own inability,
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and

and want of power, to enter the field of political combat with so experienced a champion as yourself; and therefore feeling, as I cannot fail to do, the weight of that guantlet which you have thrown down, and I have taken upon my hands: yet, feeble as I am, foiled as I may be in the event, I still trust that I shall be found not wholly defenceless on that ground of motive and principle, which has led me to the unequal contest. Born under a free government, it is individually the birth-right of every member thereof, freely to enquire into those measures by which he is governed. Lord Bolingbroke says, and no authority is greater; “ That in a country cir-
 “ cumstanced as ours, and under a govern-
 “ ment constituted as ours, the people have
 “ a right to be informed and to reason about
 “ public affairs; that when wise and honest
 “ measures are pursued, and the nation reaps
 “ the advantage of them, the exercise of this
 “ right will always be agreeable to the men
 “ in power; that indeed if weak and wicked
 “ measures are pursued, the men in power
 “ might find the exercise of this right disa-
 “ greeable, inconvenient, and sometimes dan-
 “ gerous to them; but even in this case, there
 “ would be no pretence for attempting to de-
 “ prive the people of this right, or for dis-
 “ couraging the exercise of it; and that to for-
 “ bid men to complain when they suffer, would
 “ be an instance of tyranny but one degree
 “ below that which the triumvirs gave du-
 “ ring

“ring the slaughter and terror of proscriptions, when by edict they commanded all men to be merry upon pain of death.” Now, however far removed I am from this right of enquiry, however incompetent to the task of reasoning about public affairs; yet being convinced, that possessed of the right, the exercise of it, *at this awful crisis*, is not only indispensable, but that to be silent is to be criminal: that circumstanced as I am, not indeed as the American himself is, whose house is already on fire, but as his next-door neighbour, the West-Indian, whose house is meant to be consumed by the same combustibles; I say, under these circumstances, as not to cry out, would be to deserve the conflagration; so will I not cease to complain, though the triumvirs (and this country hath its triumvirs too) should command it upon pain of death. Such being my motives, I flatter myself, that they will in some measure be a plea of justification for my presumption; but my principles too having led me to this arduous undertaking, a declaration of them becomes the more necessary, as it has been, and is the practice of you, and of every other anticonstitutional writer on the American subject, to falsify the principles of those who have differed, I will not say in sentiment, because truth must be the same to all, but in what you have been corrupted by your own hearts, or by other means, to profess. You, in particular, have been induced to frame a net, to which you have given the *new* name.

name of "*republicism*;" and with this net, like the miraculous draught of fishes, you catch all the Whigs at a haul. In order therefore to keep myself out of this snare, as well as to shew by what principles I am influenced, I shall here, looking up to you as my father-confessor, and confessing my political creed in general, declare also, in particular, my faith and belief in and of the *trinity* of our constitution, as composed of king, lords, and commons, *in unity*.†

In the first place then, I hold the preservation, protection and security, of life, liberty, and property, to be the *causa causans*, the object and end (however perverted) of all civil society: that all government is of human and not of divine institution: and that as all power originally is, so does it ultimately reside in the people.

In the next place, I avow myself to be as much an enemy to republicism or democracy, as I am implacably so to absolute monarchy; the effect of the former being that of too *little* government, or anarchy, whilst the result of the latter is that of too *much* government, or despotism. The same objection holds good to aristocracy as to absolute monarchy. The mixed government, or constitution of England, therefore, as confirmed at the Revolution, and

† It is to be hoped that the expression *trinity in unity* will not be considered as any intended profanation of it: indeed no mode of speech can be profane which is applied to the English constitution, in its perfect state: but here the terms are *literally* and not *metaphysically* meant.

and by exprefs compact in the act of fettlement, with the prefent illuftrious houfe of Hanover, is, equally with the eftablifhed religion of the church, as founded in proteftantifm, and with all their faults, like Hamlet's ghofth, upon their heads, the objects of my maintenance and efteem. To the crown and dignity of the king I owe the firmeft loyalty and attachment, and to his perfon and government all due allegiance; fo long as in the judgment of the public, and as by his coronation-oath, as well as by law, he is bound to do, he fhall protect, and no longer, the conftitutional liberties of his fubjects. I fay, I owe all *due* allegiance, becaufe allegiance and protection are terms of reciprocal duties only. "The right of princes," fays a learned author, "arifing out of our legiflature, the fetting that afide, deftroys the foundation of their own authority, and fo releafes the fubject." To the houfes of parliament I owe all honour and refpect. To the lords honour, becaufe honour is due; not only by reafon of their conftituting the nobleft and moft unblemifhed tribunal of juftice in the known world, but for the part allotted them in holding the balance of the ftate. To the commons refpect, for the honefty of fome houfes, notwithstanding the corruption of others; and becaufe of their *capacity* to promote the happinefs of their fellow-fubjects.

Again: another net by which you enfnare, or rather *argumentum baculinum* with
C which

you and your fraternity down with all the Whigs at a blow, is, that they are the abettors of faction ; and moreover you curse them by the name of patriots. To the first of these charges I plead not guilty ; putting thereby, in case of my arraignment, the proof of my guilt upon you : but I will add, that, connected with no party of men of any description whatever, I enjoy the solid comfort of independence, and the heart-felt happiness of being the sole master of my own conduct, thoughts, and opinions. To say that I do not venerate the characters of those British worthies, who have stedfastly and unbiassedly maintained and upheld the rights of humanity, in the cause and constitution of their country, would be to deny what I am most truly proud to confess ; and yet, even with them, be it equally my pride to declare, that I would not mount, as St. Paul did, into the third heavens, nor be carried as Mahomet was, astride his beast *Aiborak*, through seven heavens, upon the back of faction. As to the second charge, if patriotism be a curse, let me pray to God to send me grace that I become a patriot ; and to this prayer, let you and all your brethren say, *amen*.

These are the banners under which I fight, under which I live, and under which I choose to die. If this be republicism, I glory in the profession. If this is to be a Whig, may I be caught in your net, may I be knocked down by your club, may I be cursed with your curse,

curse, so that I am fairly distinguished from a Tory.* But one word more before I have done with myself.

If in what I have already advanced, or perchance may hereafter advance, respecting you, it should appear as if I had treated your reverence rather too irreverently, or cavalierly, or roundheadedly, if the term better befits me, than I ought to have done; having my pardon in my pocket, I will plead it in bar of my trial.

My pardon is the following note of your own, in page 16, of your "Humble Address and Earnest Appeal," &c. &c. "In the year of the rebellion, 1745, and for many years afterwards, the *London Evening Post* (now a republican) was then a flaming Jacobite paper: during which period, the author of these tracts had frequently the honour of being abused by him, under the character of a *low-church, fanatical, Oliverian Whig*.

* "Tory," says Rapin, "is an Irish word, signifying *robber*." He says too, "that Tories in general are fierce and haughty; that they are exceedingly passionate, and precipitate in their motions, which often disconcerts all their projects; and that when they have the reins in their hands, they drive with amazing rapidity." It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that any one should wish to be distinguished from these banditti; for these are the Tories alluded to, and not those who so humble themselves into Whigs, as not to be distinguished from them: meaning at the same time those Whigs, who, as Rapin adds of them, "support a good cause, namely, the constitution of the government as established by law." See *Dissert. de M. Rapin Thoyras, sur les Whigs & les Torys*.

“ Once in particular, (above twenty years ago) he was complimented in the high-flown strain of *Josiah ben Tucker ben Judas Iscariot*. The times are now greatly altered; and so is the tone of the abuse. But the author is perfectly resigned to these vicissitudes of human affairs; and he has no other favour to ask of this, and of all his *brother scribblers*, whether weekly or monthly, in sheets or in pamphlets, than that they would *never* praise him; because that, and that only, he should look upon to be a *real disgrace*.” Now this will lead me to the relation of a story, which I have either read or heard, I know not which, nor do I remember where: but it is shortly this. Cardinal Mazarin valuing himself much upon being the politest man of his time in France, Louis the Fourteenth became, on this account, jealous of him; thinking, that as he was the first *man*, he had a right also to be the first *gentleman*; and therefore seized every occasion of contrasting his address with that of the Cardinal’s. One day, in particular, as the King, in company with the Cardinal, was coming from his coach, and going into his palace, he took it into his head to stop short at the threshold, and to make a sign with his hand, that the Cardinal should enter before him. Mazarin, hurt at the indecorum of preceding his master, shrugged up his shoulders, as the French are wont to do, and bowed his excuse; upon which Lewis exultingly said, Cardinal, from
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this

this day you must yield the palm of good-breeding to me : it was mine to command, it was yours to obey ; *to give way* to your superiors, is to do as you are bid.

Under this impression then, am I fashioned, with relation to you. As a *brother scribbler* you have bid me *never to praise you*, because that, and that only, would be a *real disgrace*. As my superior in *scribbling*, in civility I am taught to obey ; and therefore my endeavours have been to *dispraise* you, as the possible means only of obtaining your *praise*. Had the Cardinal been thus complaisant to the King, of politeness the Cardinal had reigned the king. At present, my only concern is, that my compliment of *Josiah ben Joshua ben the chosen of God*, will fall so far short of the truth, and of that high-flown strain, of *Josiah ben Tucker ben Judas Iscariot* ; that, in comparison therewith, by judgment of *Misnomer*, my plea will be over-ruled. In this case then, as humble submission must supply the place of my pardon, and as he that is not ashamed to attack anonymously a name, should at least have impudence enough not to be ashamed of his own ; so, therefore, have I, here crying mercy of the public, given up my name, with myself, to whatever pleasantries or censures you may think fit to pass upon either or both.

I come now to the consideration of your "Humble Address and Earnest Appeal," &c. concerning which I must previously observe, that after beginning very properly as you did,
with

with an apology for yourself, (knowing how much you stood in need of one) and then, by referring the reader to your former tracts, "waving the consideration of every thing that might have a tendency to keep the present question out of sight," for these are your words; yet so enchanting to you is the American thesis at large, that by *remark upon remark*, by *postscript*, and by *a general muster of forces*, you at length recapitulate, and bring back to the reader, whatever he was *elsewhere* directed to find. Now to trace you through this series of tracts, would be to take upon me the Herculean labour of cleansing the Augean stable; and as a river of water was required to wash away the thirty years filth of the one, so would a river of ink be found necessary to blot out the manifold offences of the other. If, therefore, in the course of what I have to offer, I shall substantially answer the substance of your "Humble Address and Earnest Appeal;" and as in doing this, I shall not think fit to follow you paragraph by paragraph, or even page by page therein; so in fulfilling my own purposes, I trust not to disappoint the expectations of others. Under this exemption then I return to the subject before me.

The first ground of your argument is a fact, with a question arising out of that fact. The fact is "that Great Britain and her colonies are at open war;" and the question is, "what is to be done at the present crisis?"

By

By way of answer to this question, there are three schemes proposed: the parliamentary scheme, Mr. Burke's, and your own. The parliamentary scheme is, by your account, "to maintain *vi & armis*, the supremacy of the mother country over her colonies, in as full and as ample a manner as over *any part* of the British dominions." Here your very commencement is an intentional deception: for does the parliament maintain *vi & armis*, or by any other means, the supremacy of the mother country, in the exercise of taxation, over Ireland? And is not Ireland *a part* of the British dominions, and, according to your own shewing, equally subject, with the colonies, to British parliamentary taxation? How then can you say, "the parliamentary scheme is to maintain *vi & armis*, the supremacy of the mother country over her colonies, in as full and as ample a manner as over *any part* of the British dominions," when the supremacy of the mother country is not maintained "in as full and as ample a manner" over Ireland, although *a part* of the British dominions? Is not this contradictory to the fact? and do you not, in your conscience, know, that the very reverse of this is the cause that "Great Britain and her colonies are at open war?"

The next scheme is that of Mr. Burke's: concerning which, after saying that it is not what you represent it to be, I shall be totally silent; meaning, by my silence, to convey a sense

sense and approbation thereof, which my poor language would but disgrace in the expression.

The third scheme is your own, and it is this; "to separate totally from the colonies, and to reject them from being fellow-members and joint-partakers with us in the privileges and advantages of the British-empire, because they *refuse* to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of the British legislature." Now admitting your scheme of separation to be a good one, let me appeal to any impartial person, I will even appeal to yourself, in the cool moments of your reflection, if any such you have upon this subject, whether the reason assigned for it by you, is fairly and ingenuously put: because, say you, "they refuse to submit to the authority and jurisdiction of the British legislature." A robber meets me in the street, and demands my money: I *refuse* to deliver it: he knocks me down, and otherwise maltreats me: I indict him for an assault; his counsel argue, that if I had not *refused* the demand, the assault had not been committed; and therefore justify the offence. Is not this *componere magna cum parvis*, a more equitable state of the case? But having brought your information, (shall I say, as in other cases, *tam pro domino rege, quam pro seipso*?) afraid of the verdict, you proceed to challenge the jury, and except to the panel.

And first, you "except against courtiers and placemen, considered as such;" and then,

then, throwing out, as it were, your flag of independence, you add, " that since your advancement to the deanery of Gloucester, in the year 1758, you have neither directly nor indirectly, made the least, or the most distant application, for any other or higher station." Now had you gone on to have said, that you do not *now* mean " directly nor indirectly to make the least or most distant application," nor hereafter to accept " of any other or higher station," then, indeed, it might have been supposed, that you intended to come to an anchor on this boasted ground of content: but, instead of this, (and your own words are my authority) like a pilot well skilled in the political compass, whose needle without a metaphor points to the *north*, dexterously trimming your bark, you veer about again, and steer for the land of preferment. Your words are these: " moreover, I do not make this exception against courtiers from any *bad opinion* I have conceived of the *present set* of ministers; for I think it may be fairly allowed, without paying them any compliment, that they are to the full as *able*, and as *honest*, as the best of those who are endeavouring to supplant them." Until, therefore, I have some proof, more sufficient of your spirit of independence, than as yet you have shewn, I must hold to my opinion, and still cleave to my text of *nolo episcopari*.

D

Second-

Secondly, "You particularly except against the whole band of mock patriots." This is a legal exception, though not for the wild reasons you urge in the support of it.

Thirdly, "You object against all those of whatever denomination, from the roaring patriot in the senate, to the miserable scribbler in the garret, who are the pensioners of France or Spain, or of any other rival power." Of this exception, I am apt to suspect, from the note that immediately follows it, and from its inapplicability to the present times, that it was conceived, at least so long ago, as when the London Evening-post was a Jacobite paper, and used to compliment you out of your name, in the strain of *Josiah ben Tucker ben Judas Iscariot*; for after attending minutely to the *all*, and the *much* you have said thereupon, I can find nothing to the present purpose, except the scripture quotation; "beware of *false* prophets, who come to you in sheep's cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

Fourthly, "You expressly except all persons of republican principles, for very obvious reasons;" and therefore, as your reasons are very obvious, there can be no reason for me to take notice of them. But here ending your exceptions, pray now, let me ask you, why did you not except against Tories and Jacobites? You will tell me, perhaps, that you have done so, in excepting against the present set of courtiers and placemen. If you do, remem-

remembering the story of the king and the cardinal, out of good breeding, I shall not contradict you: but are these all the Tories and Jacobites that as jurors might serve in your cause? Would to God that they were! For then as your cause would be never put upon trial, so might one live in the hope of seeing an end put to them. The truth however is, that had you excepted against Tories and Jacobites, you would really have wanted a jury to have determined your cause.

Thus then, a jury of your own packing being struck, your next business is to make choice of your judges; and here, as if the *landed interest* were, without question, of those principles against which you had *not* excepted; “your humble request is, that you may be “tried by the landed interest only.” Now whether you are right or not in your choice, remains to be shewn: but that no deception may be wanting which might bias your judges, and so favour your cause; “good doctor “Pinch,” (as Shakespeare says in *his* comedy of Errors) “thou art a conjurer;” for in addressing the landed interest, your speech to them is to this effect: “My lords and gentlemen, “the thing is no sooner *said* than *done*.” Rise, “manifesto, couched under the form of an “act of parliament.” Up starts manifesto, couched as commanded, and at the trifling expence only of “pen, ink, paper and printing.” This is quick work, I must own, doctor Pinch: but were you not afraid of offending,

by this magic manifesto of yours, the author of the Quebec act, and those other magicians, whose peculiar privilege it is, to play these *wonderful* tricks with America?

“Sed amoto quæramus seria ludo.”

Your scheme of separation being now at issue, and upon trial, contrary to the well-known benefits arising *universally* from commercial colonization, contrary to the advantages resulting *peculiarly* therefrom to this country, by reason of its own insignificance, in point of size, on the face of the globe, by reasons of locality, and by every other reason which could induce our wise forefathers to spend millions, and tens of millions, in the obtaining of colonies; I say, contrary to all these incontrovertible arguments and reasons, is that doctrine of yours, which by “Humble Address and Earnest Appeal,” you so zealously propound to the landed interest of England, and forsooth of Ireland too, for adoption. But what are the motives alledged by you as conducive to this desirable end? The advantages you say are manifold, and yet (although I have gone out of my way to collect them) I have not been able to find more than the manifold number of fix.

In your fourth tract, first edition, p. 206, the first advantage attendant on your scheme is, “that it will put a stop to our present emigrations.” As this advantage is founded in inhumanity, so neither will it bear the light
of

of political-enquiry. The advantage proposed is, that in order to pay "tax, and tythe, and "rent," individuals must be divested of their natural right to *loco-motion*; and against their will kept in poverty and in wretchedness, rather than be permitted to go where neither tax, nor tythe, nor rent is due; and where they might enjoy those necessities of life to which all mankind have in common a right. This is tyranny in the abstract, and unworthy the American savage: but, politically speaking, what you are anxious to put a stop to, is the object of encouragement; for until you asserted to the contrary, I had ever looked upon colony emigrations as the leading contours of political wisdom; and, if credit is to be given to political arithmetic, the superlucration to the mother country by every colony-emigrant, in comparison with a home-resident, is in an excess, that demonstration only makes credible. In the average of labour in any given country it is calculated, that if one head with another yield seven shillings *per annum* clear gain to the publick, over and above the nourishment of each, it is a sufficient portion of national wealth, and as much as may fairly be reckoned upon: but what do the British emigrants in North-America alone produce to Great-Britain, as the price of their labour? Look to your own stated account of the annual exports thereto, procure a like state of the imports therefrom, strike the balance of this trade, as by re-exportation it makes part of

of the general balance of trade; and then, dividing the balance by the number of emigrants, see what the quotient will be. I have not ascertained the account, because in the number of emigrants we might not be agreed: but be your numbers whatever consistently they may, I am justified in affirming, that you will find the proportion of profit to be, as in the difference of seven shillings to seventeen pounds at least; exclusively of those capital articles, and contingent benefits arising to the nation, of shipping and seamen.

But laying aside matters of calculation, let me appeal to matters of fact. In France (a country not only so extensive, but still so uncultivated, as, by a due attention to agriculture alone, would employ and subsist double its number of inhabitants; and where, from its variety of climates, one would think almost all external resources might be internally found) the planting and rearing of colonies were the pride of the state and the boast of its policy; until the arms of Great-Britain (and when I say the arms of Great-Britain, I must look up to that then great director of them, the present earl of Chatham, with all the reverence due to this statesman *unique*) were destructive of both. I say again, that until this memorable æra, colony emigrations were so much the encouragement of France, that its subjects, who were desirous of becoming colonists, were not only provided with vessels for their passage, but were supplied at the public

lic expence, with all necessary requisites and materials; upon condition only of re-payment for the same, until the whole was discharged, with one third of their produce. This was, this is the policy of France, inasmuch as it has opportunity left for the exercise of it.

But what now shall I say of Spain, that half-holder of the American quarter of the globe? Here indeed I must expect you to crow over me, perhaps even thrice, as the cock did when Peter denied Christ; though with this difference indeed, that cocks now-a-days do not crow by inspiration as they formerly did. However, I know I may be hit in the teeth, that by colony-emigrations the mother country Spain is left in a deplorable state of depopulation. Admitting the fact, though I deny your use and application of it; let us take comfort to ourselves and think, with Mr. Pope, that "whatever is is right:" for if Spain can treat Great-Britain with that *haut en bas* which we have lately experienced, and to which our ministers have so shamefully submitted, unpeopled as that kingdom is; if peopled, its situation being better, our treatment of course would be worse. But here the question is, does this condition of Spain put a stop to these emigrations from thence? I have not heard that it does. Is it an argument against emigrations of this sort? By no means, not. Spain is hurt by its emigrations, but I will tell you why, in a word. Spain is *priest-ridden*. This is the source of the evil.

L

Monasteries

Monasteries hinder the propagation of mankind : the inquisition drives out many people, and prevents others from supplying their places : *remota causa tollitur effectus*. It was English *priest-riding* that first peopled English America : England *rid* of this *riding*, the evil was turned into good.

How is it with Portugal then ? I should imagine, pretty nearly the same as with Spain, the superstitious influence of each, like their countries and their colonies, alike bordering the one upon the other.

But let us now turn our eyes towards Holland, that *embouchure* of confluent rivers, that manufactured country, made by encroachment on the sea ; and where, though man should be amphibious to reside, yet from the form of its government, and the idea of civil and religious liberty there, with emigrations continually encouraged and daily set on foot, the circulation of home-population continues the same.

The transition from Holland to England is easy. What then are the effects of emigration observable here ? North-America is said to contain at least two millions of inhabitants, exclusively of its Aborigines, the Indians. In how much then is Great-Britain injured thereby ? You say, " British or Irish emigrations are
 " to be considered as being very unfavourable
 " to the increase of English sailors, as well as
 " of English manufactures ; and that the loss
 " and detriment to the mother-country are very
 " great in both respects." Postlethwyate
 says,

says, (but he, I suppose, no more than Mr. Locke, is of any authority with you) "I am
 " of opinion, that the encrease of people in
 " the plantations, as it would encrease our
 " American trade in general, so it would *cer-*
 " *tainly* encrease the number of our people at
 " home." Now as you are determined to
 consider things in direct opposition to the ideas
 of every one else, and to be spick and span-
 new upon every subject; one word by way of
 answer might be as well as a book-full: but
 let me see, if upon this occasion, you will not
 be found to contradict yourself. In the last
 war we had four hundred and twenty thou-
 sand British soldiers and sailors, and when I
 say British, I mean belonging to the British
 empire, at one time in British pay; a number
 exceeding in both, by one fourth, any former
 amount. At this time, North-America was
 peopling, and was peopled as I have stated
 above. This then is a flat contradiction to
 the first part of your assertion, " that British
 " or Irish emigrations are to be considered as
 " being very unfavourable to the encrease of
 " English *sailors*." But what has happened
 to our agriculture and manufactures? I will
 tell you: the former by continued expansion,
 has at length reached the barren mountains of
 Scotland: the latter, I have it from authority,
 increased *during the last war* nearly three
 hundred thousand pounds at an annual medium
 in consumption by export. A wonderful oc-
 currence this! considering the number of

E

hands

hands employed in the war, how general the war was, and consequently how many channels of trade must necessarily have been blocked up. It is since the war, however, that the plough is turned on its back, the distaff fallen to the ground, and the labourers of both, become the emigrants of America. Be your own words an answer to this, confuting that second part of your assertion, "that emigrations are unfavourable to English *manufactures*." Your words are these: "How is it possible that after having contracted a debt of nearly 140,000,000*l.* we should nevertheless be able to make more rapid progresses in all sorts of improvements, useful and ornamental, public and private, agricolic and commercial, than any other nation ever did? Fact it is, that these improvements have been made of late years, and are daily making: and facts are stubborn things." If therefore manufactures, agriculture, commerce, are thus by your own account improved, and are still improving; and yet, whilst emigrants are continually emigrating to America, provision for the poor be found more expedient than ever, poor-rates rising, new charities multiplying, robbers and rogues of all sorts more numerous, criminal executions more frequent, lands and every species of commodity rising in their value and price, the conclusion is; that the population of, and the migration to, is so much superior to the depopulation of, and the emigration from this

this country, that to colony emigrations none but the dæmon of the state would wish to put a stop. Making use then of your own argument, that "facts are stubborn things;" I leave what I have said on this head, as a full answer to the third remark in your "Humble Address and Earnest Appeal," &c.

Your second advantage is, that "we shall save between three and four hundred thousand a year by being discharged from the payment of any civil or military establishment belonging to the colonies." Their charters are altered, their common-law judges made dependent on the crown, the trial by jury taken from them, taxes levied upon them without their assent, their persons subjected by transportation hither "to be butchered in the court of King's-bench," as was wisely and humanely observed by the great and the good lord Camden, courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty erected for them, with new powers to enforce that engine of despotism the *civil law*, troops quartered upon, and a standing army kept up among, them, in time of peace : This is their civil and military establishment ; "for which generous benefaction," you add, "we receive at present no other return than invectives and reproaches:" but which puts me in mind of the commons petition to Charles II. with the king's answer thereto, as recorded by the earl of Rochester. The petition is this :

E 2

In

In all humanity we crave
 Our sovereign may be our slave ;
 And humbly beg, that he may be
 Betray'd by us most loyally :
 And if he please once to lay down
 His scepter, dignity, and crown,
 We'll make him, for the time to come,
 The greatest prince in Christendom.

Is not this *mutatis mutandis*, the counterpart of your "generous benefaction," and very much a-kin to what is expected of the Americans ? The answer to the petition is :

Charles, at this time having no need,
 Thanks you as much as if he did.

So answer the Americans : preferring the "luxury of being free," to that civilized state of civil refinement so exquisitely civilized, as to make them wish to kiss the rod that galls their backs, to taste the sweets of cruel mercies, or court the joy of being killed with kindness.

But this advantage of yours is in the list of American grievances, and therefore may be obtained without a separation. They say, and through their congress, *uno ore conclamant*, that "for the necessary support of government we ever were, and ever shall be ready to provide:" but for which generous benefaction, to retort, and with much better grace too, your own charge upon you, *they* receive at present no other return than invectives and reproaches.

Your

Your third advantage is, “the ceasing of
 “the payment of bounties on certain colony
 “productions which will be a great saving,
 “perhaps not less than 200,000l. a year.”
 This is a species of saving as extraordinary in
 itself, as, I must confess, it is new to me. I
 should conceive a *saving* of this sort to be
 necessarily a *loss* to the nation. It is true,
 200,000l. may be annually *sunk* in colony
 bounties: but besides that this money returns
 home again doubling itself in the due course
 and channel of trade, it can be considered in no
 other light, than as so much money lent by the
 public, in order to receive so high an interest up-
 on it as to make good to the lender, even the loss
 of the principal. This is my idea of a colony-
 bounty: but if *the not paying* 200,000l. a year
 is to be considered as a national saving, *the pay-
 ing* 200,000l. a year has been a national waste;
 and therefore, according to your œconomicks,
 every minister of this country, from time
 immemorial, should have been, as General
 Gage in his letter to General Washington ele-
 gantly expresses this catastrophe of life, *desti-
 ned to the cord*; for having so bountifully
 squandered away the public money in boun-
 ties. I must hope however, that this parsimo-
 ny of yours, does not extend to every species
 of bounty, or at least, for your brethren’s sake
 the poor clergy, is exceptive of one; I mean
 queen Ann’s bounty, as it is called. But fur-
 ther: in the second remark of your “Humble
 Address,” &c. you say, “if we should cast our
 “eyes on the imports from Russia only, will
 “any

“ any one be so hardy as to maintain that the
 “ imports from North-America are at all up-
 “ on a par with them in any respect whate-
 “ ver? Timber, for example, iron, hemp, flax
 “ and flax seed, linen, yarn, skins and furs,
 “ ashes, tallow, hair, bristles, &c. &c. Can
 “ it be pretended with any appearance of truth,
 “ that the imports of these articles (taking
 “ one with the other) from North America,
 “ will bear any comparison with those from
 “ Russia? And yet, to the shame and dis-
 “ grace of an enlightened commercial state, se-
 “ veral of these raw-materials are taxed if im-
 “ ported from Russia, in order to create a mo-
 “ nopoly to North-America: and others when
 “ imported from America, are not only al-
 “ lowed to be entered duty-free, which is just
 “ enough; but also have enjoyed for many
 “ years the benefit of large and munificent
 “ bounties given by the parliament of Great-
 “ Britain.” In another place you add, “the
 “ imports of raw materials from Russia,
 “ which are every day increasing, exceed those
 “ from North-America in goodness, in quan-
 “ tity, in value, and in every respect to a ve-
 “ ry great degree.” Now who is it that reads
 this misrepresentation of yours (for so in fact
 it is) but must suppose you to be the consul-
 elect of Russia, employed by the Czarina at
 the court of London, to write *down* the Ame-
 rican trade by writing *up* the Russian; or that
 you were making a *raw material* of yourself,
 in order that this bountiful empress might ex-
 ercise

exercise her bounty upon you. If this be not
 the case, I protest, I can no otherwise account
 for your partiality towards Russia; and more
 especially so when I read your succeeding
 note upon this text. Your note is this. "A
 " few shallow half-fighted politicians have ob-
 " jected to the trade with Russia, because the
 " balance, according to their narrow ideas, is
 " visibly against us. But what balance do
 " they mean? Not the balance of industry,
 " for that is plainly in our favour; or in
 " other words, we export more manufactured
 " goods to Russia than we receive from it.
 " And as to the balance of money, they ought
 " to have known that it is much more benefi-
 " cial to an industrious commercial country
 " to import raw materials (if it wants them)
 " than to import gold or silver; because there
 " cannot be so many hands employed in the
 " manufacturing of these metals, as in the
 " working up of timber, iron, hemp, flax,
 " &c. &c. to their respective uses!" Inas-
 much then as I am one of these shallow, half-
 fighted, politicians myself; I may perhaps be
 able to inform you what balance is meant.
 In the first place is meant, I presume, the pos-
 sible balance (which is terribly against us in-
 deed, and the worst of all balances) of our
 not being able to procure at any rate from
 Russia, these articles of timber, iron, hemp,
 flax and flax-seed, &c. &c. let our want of
 them be ever so great. What has been, may
 be again, and, from the present state of the
 northern

northern European powers, is more likely to happen than ever. Before we procured our pitch and tar from America, we had them from Sweden: but why did we not continue to have them from thence? The Swedes made a monopoly of these articles: they set their own prices upon them: they shut out our ships from, and employed their own solely in, this trade, to the advancement of themselves, and the injury of us, as a naval power: they did more: for upon breaking out of the war with France in the year 1703, they withheld these supplies from us, when we had not in store a sufficiency for the equipment of our navy; and which gave occasion to the then remark, "how much it was in the power of the king of Sweden either to forward the fitting out of the royal navy of England, or to keep it in harbour." To obtain a supply, our envoy, Doctor Robinson, was forced to petition the king of Sweden in person. His letter to Secretary Hedges on this occasion, and which will afford you much instruction, concludes thus: "What difficulties there are in making and bringing pitch and tar from *New-England* I am not acquainted with, but take it for granted, England had better give *one third more* from thence, than have it at such uncertainties, and in so precarious a manner, from other countries." Hence it was that bounties were given for the importing of these articles from the colonies in America. And what was the consequence? We
not

not only obtained the very great advantage of becoming the exporters of pitch and tar ourselves, for the supply of the rest of Europe, but instead of paying *one third more* for them, as Doctor Robinson thought it better for us to do, we paid *one third less*, which makes *two thirds* difference in the price; and so proves to demonstration my position, that a *saving* of colony-bounties is necessarily a *loss* to the nation: independently of that circumstance of exchanging uncertainty for certainty, setting aside those most valuable considerations of shipping and seamen, and putting out of the question, the benefit of having this money return to us through the wholesome channel of trade.

It follows now then to ask, what should hinder Russia from putting us hereafter, with respect to their trade, under the same ban of their empire, as Sweden formerly did? The great design of this great power is to obtain a maritime force, in which Great Britain is her rival; and great powers will brook no rivalry. Tar is already a monopoly in the hands of the Czarina herself. You will answer that Russia is our ally. I reply, so was the house of Austria; and our once supposed most natural ally too: but the time came when we took part with Prussia against Austria, and the times are coming when

“Serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.”

F

I have

I have heard it said, that a treaty of alliance is on foot between the courts of London, France, and Spain : for what purpose let prophets prophesy.—The liberties of mankind are become the objects of universal extirpation.

Another balance of trade meant is, not as you *artfully* state it, to wit, “ that we export “ more manufactured goods to Russia than we “ receive from it, and that it is more beneficial “ to import raw materials than gold or silver ;” for this is true, and in this the balance of trade with Russia is not against us ; but it is not upon this ground that the balance of trade with Russia is against us : I say then, that the balance of trade with Russia being against us is, not because the importation of *manufactured* goods from Russia to Great Britain is not equal to the exportation of *manufactured* goods from Great Britain to Russia ; not because it is not more beneficial to import raw materials than gold or silver : but because, for the raw materials which Russia imports to us, she exports from us, not our manufactures, not our raw materials in exchange to balance the account, but our gold and silver, nay, our very coin ; and here it is that the balance of trade with Russia is *visibly* against us. I repeat *visibly* ; for if these raw materials imported from Russia were to be manufactured here for re-exportation, even in part, elsewhere ; then the money we should receive for them as re-exports, being probably tantamount to the money paid for them as imports, the balance of trade with
Russia

Russia would not in fact be against us: but as these raw materials are intended for home consumption, inasmuch as our gold and silver are given in payment for articles of home-consumption *only*, in so much is the balance of trade with Russia, in despite of false-colouring, and in defiance of contradiction, against Great Britain.

But having now exhausted all your honey of argument to sweeten the trade of Russia, your next procedure is to deal out your gall, in order to embitter that of America. You say, " But I forgot: pitch, and tar, and indigo, are also raw materials of very great consequence; and they are imported from North America, but not from Russia: true; pitch and tar, if imported from Russia would have paid an high duty; but when brought from America, they receive a very large bounty." In the remembering of tar, it is somewhat strange to me, that, by a concatenation of ideas, you were not led to the recollecting of feathers too, as a raw material of very great consequence; seeing that from tar and feathers proceed tarring and feathering, and from thence, if one may judge of the quantity to be used, by the number of those who deserve the use, feathers bid fair to become as much an American staple as tar already is. That they may be so, I most heartily wish: for as the Marchese Beccaria, in his most excellent book of humanity, entitled, *Dei delitti, e delle Pene*, calls the taking

F 2

away

away of a man's-life, *questa inutile prodigality di supplicj*; so, upon this principle, tarring and feathering being better than hanging, inso-much will American feathers deserve encouragement, in preference to Russian hemp, converted into Tyburn halters. But perhaps it was for this very reason that you omitted the mention of feathers: for methinks I hear you say, why should I point out other resources for America? Already does America profit too much at the loss of Russia! Alas! What an enemy is Great Britain to its natural friend Russia, and what a friend to its natural enemy America!

As to the indigo then of America: Why the indigo "is of a quality much inferior," you say, "to that which comes from other countries, and a better sort might be cultivated" (*I must suppose by the Hottentots and the negroes*) on the coast of Africa, at a tenth part of the expence."

But now for your attack upon the taxable objects of America; and here you say, "I do maintain, that North America doth not supply Great Britain with great quantities of taxable objects; for, perhaps, hardly any civilized country in the world, of equal extent, and the same parallels of latitude, is so barren in that respect as North America. At present, I recollect but two taxable objects among all her stores, viz. rice and tobacco. In respect to rice, I do allow that it hath been customary to tax it; but

“ as it is a raw material, and an article of food, it ought never to have been taxed.” Surely never did blindness lead the blind more astray, than prejudice hath misled you. This is the country that is said to possess by nature, what the terrestrial globe beside affords, except gold and silver mines ; which it does not possess, perhaps, because only they have not yet been explored : but of which the very barrenness marks the altitude of its prosperity as a state to come. To prejudice too, is even added injustice by you. North America, under the pressure of law, (and very properly so, whilst that pressure was intended not to crush, but to extract only what was for the good of the whole empire) being forbid to manufacture any thing, “ *even the hobnail of a horse-shoe,*” of course became obliged to export its raw materials, in order to carry on a trade with this country, which raw materials, you say, as raw materials should not be taxed, and which, as coming from Russia, you also say, is better than gold and silver ; and yet, for all this, your charge is, that North America has but one taxable object, and therefore is branded by you with the epithet of being the most *barren* of any country under the same parallels of latitude.

Aware of all this force of argument against you, whenever it should be applied, now comes your retreat ; which to make good, you must approve yourself a much better general than you have hitherto appeared. You say,

say, " Let the trade to North America be
 " what it may, of little importance, or
 " otherwise ; it is a mere begging the ques-
 " tion, and a most disingenuous artifice to in-
 " sinuate (as all advocates for America now
 " do) that this trade will be lost, if a sepa-
 " ration from the colonies should ensue. On
 " the contrary, it is much more probable,
 " that when all parties shall be left at full li-
 " berty to do what they please, our North
 " American trade will be rather increased
 " than diminished by such a measure : because
 " it is freedom, and not confinement, or mo-
 " nopoly, which encreases trade. And sure
 " I am, that on this subject, history, and past
 " experience, as well as reason and argument,
 " are clearly on my side." If by reason and
 argument you mean what you have here ad-
 duced, namely, " Because it is freedom, and
 " not confinement or monopoly, which in-
 " creases trade," this is too general reasoning
 for so particular a subject ; and as to history
 and experience, I defy *either* to produce an in-
 stance of an empire, where freedom is the basis
 of it, wantonly separating itself from itself, as
 you propose, for no other reason, than merely
 because one part of it desires to be equally free
 only, as the other. But if Russia is so
 cruelly treated for the sake of America, if
 Russia can afford a better supply to this coun-
 try than America, what signifies the loss of
 the American trade ? Why labour so to prove
 that it will *not* be lost ? And why so anxious
 to

to point out the probability of its continuance, since Russia can supply the loss? The reason is plain : your premises are wrong ; in order to make them right, you have drawn a conclusion that does not follow from them ; and this conclusion being false in itself, your whole syllogism major, minor, and sequela, is one jumble of error.

But to be more particular : is it not as much “ a begging the question ” by you, and full as much, if not more so, “ a disingenuous artifice ” in you, to insinuate, that this trade will *not* be lost, if a separation should ensue, than it is in the advocates of America, who assert to the contrary ? In my opinion it is, and my reasons are these. In the first place, the very ceasing of the bounties which you are for saving, will extirpate the materials upon which these bounties were granted. A thing cannot exist, when the very cause of its existence is removed. Inasmuch then will the trade of America be lost, as by these bounties it was made to extend. But the saving of these bounties, you will say, will make amends for the loss of this trade. The absurdity of this doctrine I have already exposed. You will urge then, that these bounty materials form but a very inconsiderable part of the American trade, and that the rest we shall certainly have. This too I deny, *manibus pedibusque*. If the Americans complain now of the monopoly of their trade by this country, when that monopoly is taken off, is it
not

not supposable, that a part, at least, of what was used to be brought to this market will be carried to other markets? And if a part of what used to come hither be diverted elsewhere, the trade must *diminish*, and will not rather *increase*, as you say it will; notwithstanding your reason and argument, your history and experience.

In the next place, whatever might be the event, with respect to the imports of America to, the exports from, this country thither, must undoubtedly be considerably diminished. America, in case of a separation from Great Britain, is under neither moral, legal, nor political obligation, not to manufacture its own materials. Inasmuch then as the greater interest of that continent can be made to give way to the lesser, in such degree will manufactures be promoted there, and consequently in the same degree will the want of foreign manufactures lessen.

Again: By a separation, no necessity remains to America for purchasing the manufactures of Great Britain, in preference to those of any other country; and if no necessity remains, it cannot be the object of its choice: because it is not for its interest so to do. No one can believe that, a separation having taken place, the Americans will bring their raw-materials to this country, (perhaps to be taxed, in order to create a monopoly to Russia, as you would advise) and will purchase the manufactures here at those prices (besides
paying

paying duties and customs) which the taxes of one hundred and forty millions of national debt occasion to be laid upon them, when they might carry their goods to France, and there procure the necessaries they require at 50 *per cent* cheaper. It may be urged, that although they may buy what they have occasion for much cheaper in France, they may sell what they want to dispose of much dearer in England, which will bring it to the same thing as if they purchased what they stood in need of in England. This may be true: but what will follow? They will do as Russia does at present: they will sell us their raw materials, take some few of our manufactures in payment, and the remainder in specie, in order to buy what they may want more at cheaper markets; by which means, what with Russia, North-America, and other countries, we shall be at length so drained of our gold and our silver, that the bank of England, *if any such thing should exist*, will be forced to issue bank-notes as currency for the common occurrences of life in business.

But now admitting, for a moment, your manner of begging the question; that is, “that
 “ the trade will not be lost, but will rather
 “ increase, if a separation from the colonies
 “ should ensue;” let me, in my turn, beg a question, and ask; Whether the trade with America be the *all* that Great-Britain has to lose, or to fear the loss of, in case of a separation? At present the trade between these

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countries is carried on in English-bottoms, to an amount of tonnage scarcely credible ; and these again are navigated by English seamen in numbers as considerable. But ship-building is one of the principal branches of the American trade. If therefore a separation should take place, is it not natural to imagine, that the Americans will increase and promote this ship-building trade of theirs as much as may be ? And what should prevent their doing what Sweden formerly did ? Granting then that they will trade with us, and even as you say, more than they do now ; they will trade with us in their own vessels, navigated by their own sailors ; and they will make us pay what prices they please for their commodities ; so that although the trade be increased, our navigation is lost. And is this loss of navigation no loss to Great Britain ? Besides we not only lose our own navigation but the advantages of theirs also. Heretofore in the case of a war, American ships and American seamen were English ships and English seamen. In a future war, separation having taken place, American ships and American seamen, may become French ships and French seamen ; thereby reflecting positive, and if even in a state of neutrality, negative injury upon Great-Britain, as may best suit with the policy and interest of that country.

Upon the same sandy foundation as these arguments of yours are built, is your annexed account of the value of the exports from England

land to Germany and Holland, and to the North-American provinces, raised. Because in the course of nine years from 1763 to 1772, the exports to Germany and Holland, being 30, 292, 126, 11, and those to the revolted provinces only 20, 61, 23, 8, the former exceeding the latter in the sum of 10, 233, 103, 7, 7, so therefore, for this is the end of your computation, the former is a more beneficial trade to Great-Britain than the latter in the proportion of this balance. A greater fallacy than this was surely never invented even by the *reformed* Peripatetics of Aristotle, in their schools of verbal logic ; but this your scheme of separation having occasioned a twist in your head, every thing must be twisted to your scheme ; and therefore until you can see by vision direct “ how much more the half is “ than the whole,” or know how much better it is for this country to pay 200,000*l.* a year in bounties to its colonies for commodities which may be had without bounties through a foreign channel, argument is lost, and reasoning is in vain.

Your fourth advantage is, that “ when we “ are no longer connected with the colonies by “ the imaginary tie of an identity of govern- “ ment, then our merchant exporters and manu- “ facturers will have a better chance of having “ their debts paid than they have at present.” Now this is as much as to say, that when debtors are under *no* obligation to pay their debts, they are more ready to pay them than when

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they

they are under *some* obligation ; which perhaps is proving too much : for the same argument goes to the putting down of the courts in Westminster-Hall, and to depriving the lawyers of their fees. It may behove you therefore, not to press this advantage too far, lest you bring this profession on your back ; and next to the *red-coats*, and the *black-coats*, and I may add the *petticoats*, you know the *long robe* is the most formidable *coat* of any.

Your fifth advantage is, “ that after a separation from the colonies, our influence over them will be much greater than ever it was, “ since they began to feel their own weight “ and importance.” To this advantage I have naught to object : seeing that my comprehension does not extend so far (which is not your fault but my misfortune) as to make me understand, that where influence *ceases* there influence *begins* ; or that the weight of influence, in one scale, preponderates in a ratio proportionate to the weight of opposition applied to it, in the other.

Your sixth and last advantage is, “ our West-India islands themselves will receive signal “ benefit from this separation.” A fine round assertion this ! *totus, teres, atque rotundus* ; and, in good truth, most worthy of you ! But where is the proof ! Proof ! say you ? I have no proof : let others prove the contrary. But negatives are not always to be proved. So much the better, you reply ; for then dilemmas arise, and these are proofs enough for my purpose.

purpose. But seriously speaking, what is it you can mean, by saying, that "our West-India islands themselves will receive signal benefit by this separation." Do you mean, that in consequence of this separation from the continental colonies of America, a separation from the West-India islands must necessarily follow, and that hence the West-India islands will receive signal benefit? No: as yet you do not seem to have bargained for this neither; whatever you may do in your next political tract: this would have been a pill too large for the nation to have swallowed; besides it would have broke down the constitution at once: it will serve therefore for the next dose, when the body politic will be thoroughly, though more gently, purged of all that rude uncivilized health it now enjoys. But if this is not your meaning, what else can it possibly be? Why? How? Wherefore receive signal benefit? To these questions not a word is to be found in answer: but instead of this, flying off from the subject as if by a repulsive force, gasconading, and pluming yourself on the size and situation of the islands, as the happy means of their being held in subjection, you gravitate your abuse on the inhabitants thereof, for having dared at any time, no matter for the provocation, to resist the iron arm of power; and for presuming to claim to themselves those rights which God and the English constitution have given them. Unable then to afford instruction to others,

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deign to be instructed yourself. On that day when a separation shall take place, whether by will or necessity it is of no matter, between Great-Britain and North America; on that day the West-India islands are lost for ever to this country. Lost! What then? Let them be lost, we will find sugar plantations in Russia, you will say. Of the possibility of this I will not now dispute or contend with you: but I will repeat my assertion, that the West-India islands will be lost forever to this country; and I will do more, and which is more than you have done, I will give you my reasons for my assertion.

The inhabitants of these islands are not only dependent on America for the materials necessary to the carrying on of their manufactures, but that food by which they are fed must be had from *thence*; or they must perish, and be cut off from the face of the earth. No other countries, from distance of situation and other circumstances unnecessary to mention, can supply them with what they want, *in kind and in measure*, sufficient for their support, save and except America; and if they could, the price of purchase would be beyond the ability of payment. As to materials for their manufactures, they have none of their own; I say none, in comparison with their occasions for them, though in most of the islands they have literally none; and the uncertainty of the seasons, with the numbers of people that are to be maintained there, takes from them all dependence

dance whatsoever on a provisional produce from their lands for subsistence. In proof of this I might furnish you with facts in detail undeniable : but the time is coming, and with giant strides too, when these facts, speaking for themselves, will teach you and the nation at large wisdom by woeful experience.

It just occurs to me to observe that perhaps, "by signal benefit to the West-India islands," you may mean, that the American trade *thither* "will rather increase than diminish," as you say it will do *hither*, in consequence of this separation. If you do, although we agree in nothing else, I heartily coincide with you in such a belief ; and I will here take upon me to point out to you the very *quantum* of the increase : *even*, I will pronounce, *in the whole of the trade to the entire exclusion of this country*. The Scripture tells us, "we cannot serve God and Mammon ;" and though Great-Britain be the god of the West-Indies, and America the Mammon, the best christians among them (and there are to the full as good christians there as here, though they have neither synods nor presbyteries set over them) will hardly have faith enough to look up to *that* god and starve, when they may look down upon this Mammon and satisfy their hunger. Great-Britain without America can neither support nor protect the West-India islands, America without Great-Britain can do the former, and will be able to do the latter ; and then rue the consequences

tes of a separation, when too late to repent of the folly.

That you may now, not knowing, know the importance of this loss of the islands, or if knowing you may not say of them hereafter, as you have done of the American colonies, that "they do not supply Great-Britain with great quantities of taxable objects, &c." I shall beg leave, in the words of the very able and accurate Mr. Glover,* to state how this matter truly is; I say truly, because what he states is from the irrefragable authority of official papers. His words are these: "the gross amount of imports at an annual medium from these unfortunate islands exceeds *four millions*: 190,000 casks of sugar and rum, besides many other articles, the bulky loading for such a multitude of vessels, more than authorize my assertion. Of these annual *four millions*, the exchequer receives its portion, the navigator and merchant theirs; the rest centers with the planter; and how distributed by him? In the purchase of 1,300,000*l.* in our exports direct, and the largest part of 700,000*l.* more in circuitation through Africa for a constant supply of negroes. What is left, considerable as it may be among residents here, is applied to home-consumption, not

* See the evidence delivered on the petition presented by the West-India planters and merchants to the honourable house of commons, as it was introduced at the bar, and summed up by Mr. Glover.

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“ with a sparing hand, and to investments,
 “ upholding the price of lands, and the cre-
 “ dit of public funds. At the same time they
 “ are furnishing commodities to us of such
 “ necessary use, which else must be paid for
 “ to foreigners, and with a superfluity for fo-
 “ reign consumption likewise. I avoid com-
 “ parison; but judge from this state, how
 “ valuable a subject is the planter.” In another
 place he says, “ I have mentioned the *reve-*
 “ *nue*, and shall now be very concise upon
 “ that head. Deducting bounties and draw-
 “ backs, the *net receipt* at the exchequer
 “ from duties and excise on West-India pro-
 “ ductions, I venture to set at more than
 “ 700,000l.”

So far Mr. Glover, with respect to the
 islands in general; and although enough to
 glut the glutton appetite of the most greedy
 financier, more still remains to be added to
 the account in value of some of the islands
 in particular: as for instance: Barbadoes and
 the leeward islands pay a duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent* on
 the gross produce of their lands, producing from
 forty to fifty thousand pounds sterling annually
 to the crown in aid of pensions; * and yet,
 unheard

* Jamaica, and the new islands do not pay this tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$
per cent. An attempt was made to impose it on the latter,
 which affords matter of curious speculation, if not of serious
 enquiry. The doctrine maintained is, that parliament have
 a right to tax the colonies. By the statute of 34 Ed. I.
 commonly called *de tallagio non concedendo*, it is enacted, “ That
 “ the king or his heirs, shall have no tallage or aid without
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unheard of injustice! when the stamp-act passed, these islands were saddled with that tax equally with those other islands, and with America, who had no such burthen to bear on their backs.---But this requires some farther explication. At the time of passing the stamp-act, the pretended reason for it was, that America, contributed nothing to the support of government here, nor even to the support of its own government there; and therefore as this latter ought more especially to be done, this tax was imposed in order to that end. Plausible enough this, and a well set trap, that did not fail to catch many unwary partizans. But Barbadoes and the leeward islands had passed acts of their own, thereby giving and granting this $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent duty expressly for the purpose of maintaining their own governments; † towards which however not a shilling.

“ consent of parliament.” After the new islands were ceded to the crown of Great-Britain, and of course became part of the empire, a proclamation issues laying this tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on them. Now if parliament have a right to tax the colonies, this proclamation was contrary to law, and the minister who advised it answerable for the illegality of it. If the proclamation was legal, the parliament can have no right to tax the colonies; because where the parliament has the right, the king has not: but if neither should have the right, how then? It has, *some how or other*, been determined in the court of King’s-bench, that the proclamation was illegal: but no further notice has been taken of it.

† The preamble to the clause in the act of Barbadoes granting this duty or impost of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is as follows: “ And forasmuch as nothing conduceth more to the peace and prosperity of any place, and the protection of every single person therein, than that the public revenue thereof, may be, in some measure, proportioned to the public charges

ling is applied, excepting 2000l. sterling annually to the Governor of Barbadoes, and the same to the Governor of the leeward islands; which two sums are given, like some of your arguments, *ex abundanti*: for the former island pays its Governor 3000l. a year beside, and the latter islands 2500l. in like manner; whilst the surplus of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is applied, as I observed before, in aid of pensions; and as by such application of the money arising from this duty, these islands are forced to find other ways and means for the support of their governments, they are thus *partially* as well as *doubly* taxed. The very reason then for imposing the stamp-duty on America, was the very reason that it should not have been imposed on Barbadoes and the leeward islands: because these islands not only maintain their own governments to the full, but pay from forty to fifty thousand pounds a year sterling

“ charges and expenses, and also well weighing the great
 “ charges that there must be of necessity in maintaining the
 “ honour and dignity of his majesty's authority here, the public
 “ meeting of the sessions, the often attendance of the council, the
 “ reparation of the forts, the building a sessions-house and prison,
 “ and all other public charges incumbent on the government; do,
 “ in consideration thereof, give and grant, &c.”

N. B. As to the first use appointed by this act for this duty; 2000l. sterling is paid, with the addition of 3000l. currency out of the general fund in the island treasury: as to the second, this is paid out of the casual revenue arising from fines and forfeitures: as to the third, nothing has ever been paid: as to the fourth and sixth, these have been paid out of other taxes raised from time to time on the inhabitants: and as to the fifth, a sessions-house and prison were built by a particular tax at the cost of 5000l.

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towards the support of this government ; so far as supporting slaves of state, hired by a stipend to obey their masters (which is Pensionary Johnson's definition of pensioners, and so far as this is true) can be called the support of government. Well therefore, upon the very principles of these task-masters of ours, may I say, unheard of injustice ! And what a specimen does this afford of America, and the West-India islands, under British parliamentary taxation ! But as I have spoken of the injustice of the stamp-act, I will say a short word or two of the folly of it also, in order to prove how unqualified this country is to devise taxes, admitting even the right of imposing them, for countries at three thousand miles distance from it ; and because herein I can speak from my own knowledge. When the stamp-act passed I rented the offices of register in chancery and clerk of the crown in Barbadoes, from the patentee here, George Augustus Selwin esquire, member of parliament for the city Gloucester ; and for which I paid, in behalf of a younger brother of mine, who was the deputy register, and clerk of the crown, four hundred pounds sterling a year. Here is, *entre nous*, another good pension from this island, in the gift of the crown ; with the clerk of the court's office, the secretary's, the marshal's, all better pensions than this is ; *cum multis aliis quæ*, &c. and without mentioning the government itself. This said stamp-act then enacted, that all law proceedings

ings should be had upon stamp-paper. Now the chief benefit of the register's office in chancery, arises from appeals out of that court to the king and council here; and it must be noted, that no causes there are appealable upon, but such as exceed 500*l.* the currency of that island. When the appeal-papers then were made out, as was the case in one suit during the forty days tyranny of this act, it appeared; that besides other expences which are considerable, the charges for stamp-paper alone and from whence no advantage whatever accrued to the office, amounted to within one hundred and twenty pounds of the whole sum upon which the appeal had been granted. The consequence of this was, that the parties were not able to prosecute the appeal; there it rested, and the door of justice was shut upon them. Alarmed at this public evil, as well as at the private injury to my brother, of having one half of the business of this office thus effectually cut off from him; I took the liberty, in a letter that I had the honour to write to the patentee, of stating these facts, as necessarily affecting his interest in the future letting of his office: and although I had not an answer from this gentleman (which in justice to his well known politeness, I attributed to the repeal of the stamp-act, that, soon after following, rendered it unnecessary) I had the satisfaction not to be able to find his name in that list of the *minority* who voted *against* the repeal of this act; and therefore supposed

supposed him of course in that confederate as well as considerable *majority* who voted for the repeal.

Another proof of the want of knowledge in this law, if by such a name it can be called, for it enacts that to be done which is impossible, and *lex non cogit ad impossibilia*, was ; that payment was required for the stamps in an amount not correspondent with the current coin of the island : so that if one sheet of paper was wanted, the purchaser was obliged either to pay one third more for it, than the price set upon it was, or to buy three sheets, he wanting only one ; * and yet this is the law that was to have executed itself (as indeed I believe it would have done, in a different sense of the words, for it could not otherwise have been executed) and which is looked upon to be the offspring of Policy begotten upon the body of Wisdom.

Having thus answered your manifold advantages, being (though contrary to my intention of confining myself merely to the answering of your “ Humble Address and Earnest

* The price of some of these stamps was 4d. sterling a sheet. Now the coin nearest to this in Barbadoes is a *bit*, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ currency, or 6d. sterling. If then one sheet only of these four-penny stamps was wanted, a *bit*, or 6d. sterling must have been paid for it, which is one third more than the price that was set upon it : or, to avoid this overpayment, three sheets must have been taken, which coming to 1s. at 4d. each sterling, made it equal to two *bits* or twice $7\frac{1}{2}$. The rest of the islands must have suffered in the same manner ; and in some of the colonies in America, payment was required in specie when paper-money was the only currency.

Appeal

Appeal)" called upon so to do, by that vaunting paragraph of yours, where speaking of your fourth tract, you say ; " and as the arguments there urged have never been attempted to be answered, notwithstanding so much good will to do it, and that my opponents most certainly would do it, if they could, the natural conclusion is, that they are unanswerable ;" I say then, that having committed this Irish blunder of answering what is unanswerable ; I am put in mind to return to that part of your " Humble Address and Earnest Appeal" where Ireland is the subject matter of it.

And here you have two positions: First, " that with respect to the claim of the legislative authority, which the parent state makes over Ireland as well as America, both countries are exactly on the same footing." Secondly, " The mother country hath not only asserted, but maintained her claims alike over both countries, in the affair of laying a general port-tax on all parts of the British empire ; so that in this respect likewise, both countries are on a par." And yet your proposal is, " an union with Ireland, and a separation from America." And why ? Really for such laughable reasons, that one would think you were *after* laughing at Ireland yourself. You say, that " Britain and Ireland ought not to be separated at all (*at all*) by different governments, laws, or parliaments;" and *because why?* " for example, the two great islands

“ islands are separated only by a *narrow* sea.” For the contrary reason then, I must presume it is, that America is to be separated from Britain ; that is, *because why ?* Britain and America are separated by a *broad* sea. But besides this, you are downright offensive to the understandings of the Irish : for, as if they did not know that this same thing called *union* was but another word for *Irish-taxation in general*, or *Irish land-tax in particular*, you would persuade them to believe the very contrary of this. You tell them, that the principal objection, against an union, (which is the removal of the court and parliament from the city of Dublin) is the very best argument for it : for the city of Dublin would be a very great gainer by it ; and it would be a gainer, because Edinburgh is now “ three times, at least, as rich and flourishing as when it was “ the residence of a court and of a parliament.” If this be the case, London, by being the residence of a court and of a parliament, must of course be less rich and less flourishing, proportionally as Edinburgh is more rich and more flourishing : and why therefore is London to be still more oppressed by the addition of another court, and another parliament from Dublin ? This is contradictory to that now great leading principle of finance which bears down all other principles before it, that every colony should share its part in the burthens of the mother country ; and Ireland is a colony too as much as any in America : for it was
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conquered by Henry II, Dublin was colonized from Bristol; and a civil administration established there, with all the liberties and free customs, says the charter, which the citizens of Bristol enjoyed. At present then Ireland, by bearing the burthen of its own court and its own parliament, does no more than it ought to do: whereas by the removal of that burthen hither, England is burthened thereby, and Ireland disburthened. Suppose, therefore, instead of this, and as you are fond of schemes, you propose that the courts and parliaments, both of London and of Dublin, should be removed to Edinburgh. Such a scheme would be very practicable, seeing that it would be very acceptable to all parties: for as London and Dublin, by being so long burthened with their courts and their parliaments, must now be grown weary of them; so the removal to Edinburgh, you may rest on the great leading principle, that Scotland should bear its share in the burthens of England; and as Edinburgh is "at least three times as rich and as flourishing," and at least three times as loyal too, as it was, it would gladly accept the proposal if it were only in proof of its loyalty. Thus you may serve the three kingdoms at once, and in so doing, probably receive the thanks, and the freedom of the metropolis of each, with three gold boxes into the bargain. But now for your mottos to crown what you have said hereupon. You are for an union

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with Ireland, but a total separation from America ; and therefore your motto is, *vis unita fortior*. Mr. Burke is for preserving the union of the empire, entire as it is, and *unseparated* ; and therefore his motto is, *divide, et impera*. Now, these mottos are so unlike to either of your meanings, and so unfit for you both ; that, for my part, I must take them for errors of the press, which by a *vice versa* arrangement will in the next edition rightly appear : as they now stand, no construction can be made of the Latin ; but by the transposition proposed, the translation is easy : for considering your motto as *divide et impera*, the construction is, *divide*, separate America from Great-Britain, *aut aliter*, divide the Whigs from the Tories, as the sheep from the goats, *et impera*, and govern, *subintellegitur*, despotically. Taking Mr. Burke's motto for *vis unita fortior*, it is, *Anglicè redditum*, thus ; united force (and of course not separation) makes the British empire the stronger.

As this then is the ground of your union in expectancy, so, as things at present are, you maintain, that Ireland should not be internally taxed, though America should ; and this *seeming* partiality, as you call it, you justify upon *four* points.

Your first point is, “ that Ireland never plunged us into any wars since the Revolution ; whereas America hath involved us in two, &c.” How jesuitically have you stated

stated this point! "*Since* the Revolution!" But what did Ireland do *before* the Revolution? And to stick to matter of fact, what has it done since the Revolution? What was the state of Ireland at the battle of the Boyne? when that popish tyrant, James II. exiled from this kingdom, was also driven out of that? Ireland not only then plunged us into a war, but was actually engaged in a war against us; so actually, and so worthy of memory too, as that our great political Messiah, sent by the guardian angel of the constitution to preserve it from the persecutions of popery, and from tyranny, had like, by a rebel shot, to have lost his precious life, before the happy end of his mission was accomplished.*

Your second point is, "that Ireland doth not drain us of any sums of money to support and maintain its civil and military establishments; whereas America drains us for those purposes of upwards of 300,000l. annually." To this point an answer has already been given. It has been said, that the Americans are, and ever have been, ready to provide for the necessary support of their governments. That they do not therefore do so, is not to be imputed to them; and why they do not do so, let ministers tell: but lest the information you should receive be like the

* Bishop Burnet, in his character of this our great deliverer King William says, "that he might be called in the words of David" the man of God's right hand, whom he made strong for himself.

news of the Gazette, not at all to be depended upon, the reason is this ; it would be lopping off ministerial influence to that annual amount ; which, so far from lopping off, your good friends the landed interest are ready, at 14s. land-tax in the pound, nay, even with their lives and fortunes, to increase.

Your third point is, “ Ireland drains us of
 “ no money, by way of bounty on the im-
 “ portation of her goods, or natural produce,
 “ into this kingdom ; whereas America hath
 “ drained us of, at least, 1,000,000l. sterling,
 “ for bounties on pitch and tar, on lumber,
 “ indigo, &c. &c. within a few years.” Now
 I do not mean to draw a comparison to the
 injury of Ireland : far be it from me. I know
 well the hardships under which that country
 labours : I know too that were it not for the
 little, low, narrow, mean, groveling, financiering
 politics of Great-Britain ; Ireland might be-
 come a treasure of wealth, and be made a mine
 of inexhaustible riches to both : but, under its
 present circumstances, in your own way, I
 will ask you a question or two. If we should
 cast our eyes on the imports from North-
 America only, will any one be so hardy as to
 maintain, that the imports from Ireland are at
 all upon a par with them in any respect what-
 ever ? Do the taxable objects of Ireland bear
 any proportion to the *one* taxable object only
 of North-America ? Are the exports from this
 country to Ireland, to be compared with the
 exports from hence to North America in va-
 lue ?

line? Unevasive, direct answers, to these questions, will prove how unfair you have been in your comparison of these countries ; and how unjustly you have settled the account between them.

Your fourth point is, " Ireland is continually burthened with large pensions, some to princes of the blood, some to other persons, and some to flaming patriots ; for even patriots will accept of pensions, if they can get them, and then exclaim most bitterly, O liberty ! O my country ! Whereas America is totally free from this species of taxation, as far as I am able to trace the matter." This point, though last, not least in consequence, brings to my remembrance a debate that I not long since heard, upon the merits of it. A certain right honourable gentleman, not content with the thousands and the tens of thousands he was getting by the American war, but must put in his claim to an Irish war also, having asserted within doors, as you have done without, the right of this country to tax Ireland as well as America, was now called upon his legs, by that first of men in abilities, nay more, by that honest man, " the noblest work of God," I mean the *once* solicitor general of his Majesty, Mr. Dunning, to justify what before he had said ; and being thus called up to this subject, as if having found that passive obedience and non-resistance were not now-a-days so easily had as imagined, and therefore it was in some degree

gree necessary for him to explain away his meaning, he declared; "that although the " British parliament 'had an undoubted right " to tax Ireland, he never wished to see that " right exerted there; nor should he be an " advocate for the exercise of it in America, " *if America was but half as kind to this coun- " try as Ireland was.*" Struck with the new-ness of this position, I began to reflect, that to the naval strength of this kingdom, America certainly added considerably more than Ireland possibly could do, view it in what- ever light it was to be seen: that on the great basis of trade, in exports from, and im- ports to this country, Ireland stood in no competition with America: that in point of finance, the revenue of this country, was largely more benefited by America than by Ireland; and therefore if the *decrease* of the national debt was the object of government, upon this ground alone, America instead of its being not half as kind, must neces- sarily be much more kind to Great-Britain than Ireland was. But in the midst of these reflections, and whilst I was endeavouring to solve this difficult problem, my under- standing was enlightened by that patriot ora- tor, Colonel Barré, (whose pardon I must entreat, for giving him a name that will so personally subject him to your abuse) when he came to answer what had been thrown out upon this occasion. From him I learned, that the kindness meant from Ire- land

land to this country was, that Ireland suffered itself to be loaded by this country with *pensions* civil and military, to the amount of 87000*l.* a year, and upwards; "from which "species of taxation," as you say, "America "is totally free," so to which species of kindness, the Colonel added, "America will never "submit." Upon these facts I leave you to make your own comments; and shall trouble you but with this single remark of my own: Let Ireland take warning by the fate of the 4½ *per cent* islands in the West-Indies, which, although half as kind, at least, in the very kindness too of pensions, to this country, as Ireland is, were yet involved, without discrimination, in American taxation; and whose guiltless inhabitants, cut off from subsistence by the one hand of power, without the smallest relief being pointed out even by the little finger of the other, and exposed to rapine and plunder, are now not only in the fear of being despoiled of their property, but are left to the dreaded condition of cannibals as the alternative only to famine.

Having indirectly, and you have directly, mentioned the right of taxation; it would seem fit that I should be somewhat more particular on this important head: but on a subject that has been so fully and ably discussed, and now so exhausted, what more than what has already been said, can further be added? To look for any thing new, one must do as *Æsop* did, when he wanted to find an honest man, search with a candle and lantern,

tern. Left, however, I should be charged with omission, I will not leave unnoticed what has fallen from you : but that, in so doing, I might not be drawn, by an argumentative contest, into too extensive a field ; taking you upon your own ground, I will fix my station there : content from your premises to draw a conclusion so differing from your own, as to make your own weapons to recoil upon yourself. You say, “ the advocates for making North America independent of the British parliament, must if consistent with themselves, be for turning the British constitution into something very different from what it is at present, or ever was ; for the very *plea* these men use in regard to North America is, that *representation*, and *legislation* (a very small part of which, is the power of raising taxes) must always go together.” Here you make the advocates for America to *say* what they do not *say*, and therefore this *saying* of yours is mentioned but to be denied. Their plea is, and their plea will for ever be, that *taxation* and *representation* are inseparable; and not that “ *representation* and *legislation* must always go together.” It is you that would dislodge them from this strong hold, and confound their meaning, by changing the *terms* of their plea.

But now for your premises, which shall have their fullest scope. You say, “ that tho’ some few only, perhaps not a fortieth part
“ of

“ of the inhabitants of the whole island, have
 “ legal votes for representatives, all in general,
 “ both within the island, *nay without it*,
 “ are *virtually* represented. That this is fact
 “ and law, that this ever was the constitution
 “ of the British empire, from the earliest
 “ times down to the present day, is such an
 “ apparent truth, that it cannot be denied.
 “ Therefore in this sense it is true, and in *no*
 “ *other*, that every member of the common-
 “ wealth is supposed to give his previous con-
 “ sent to the making of those laws, which
 “ he is afterwards bound to obey, and to the
 “ imposing of those taxes which he is obliged
 “ to pay. Indeed upon this footing (viz. of
 “ *virtual* representation in some cases, and of
 “ *actual* election in others) a free and well-
 “ poised government can stand, and be sup-
 “ ported; but it can be supported on no
 “ other.” Here then is the old story over
 again of *real* and *virtual* representation, from
 the “ *controversy reviewed*,” * down to your
 “ *Humble Address* ;” and over again, plainly
 too for want of a better story, because as of-
 ten as it has been told, so often has it been
 refuted: but my design is not to make any
 attack upon the story itself. On the contra-
 ry, I admit the facts of a *real* and a *virtual*
 representation, and shall contend about their
 consequences only. To this end therefore I

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* A pamphlet said to be written by Mr. George Grenville.

will endeavour to methodise my ideas, and to lay them in some order before you.

Among the several *classes* of principles which form the English constitution (for every government, defined as a science, is a system of principles) there is *one* known by the name of *representation*. Legislation is another, taxation a third, and so forth. Under this *class* then of *representation*, are to be found *two kinds* of representation; the one *real*, the other *virtual*. Under the first of these *kinds*, *real representation*, are included all those persons who by freehold, or *otherwise*, have votes for the election of representatives to serve in the British parliament. Under the second of these kinds, *virtual representation*, are included all such as have *no* votes for the election of representatives to serve in the British parliament; their qualifications consisting only in their being subjects of Great-Britain, no matter where resident, nor how dispersed, whether in Ireland, in East-India, in West-India, in North-America, in South-America; in short wherever existing *per totam terram*, by being British subjects, they are the objects of this *virtual representation*. This then being the constitutional state of this matter according to you, your conclusion is; that as *taxation* is one of the effects of this two-fold representation, so every British subject is bound by taxation whenever exercised, under this general principle of representation. So far I think I have proved that I clearly understand

derstand you : but now, proceeding in the analysis of this principle of the English constitution, in order to the discovery of its truth or falshood, I hope I may be able to make myself equally intelligible to you. Having shewn what these two *kinds* of representation *real* and *virtual* are, I perceive, in pursuing them through their subordinate relations, that they are subdivided into *four species* of representation, arising *two* out of each *kind*. Out of the first *kind*, that is, out of *real* representation, arises *two species*: the first *species* comprehends those who have votes, by means of *freeholds* in lands or tenements of the yearly value of forty shillings, for the election of representatives to serve in the British parliament; and these representatives, representing the *landed* interest of the kingdom, are called knights of the shire: the second *species* comprehends those who have votes *by charter, or custom*, for the election of representatives to serve in the British parliament; and these representatives, representing the *monied* or *trading* interest of the kingdom, are called citizens and burgessees. * Out of the second *kind*, that is, out of *virtual* representation, arises *two other species*: the first comprehends those, who having *no* votes for the election of re-

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presen-

* Besides these two species of representation of the landed and mercantile interest, there is a third, too inconsiderable however to be admitted as a distinct species; it comprehending only the four members of the two Universities, who were called to parliament, so lately as in the reign of James the First, as representatives for the rights of the republic of letters.

representatives to serve in the British parliament, neither by *freehold*, nor *charter*, nor *custom*, have yet this security for their property ; that, by having their property on the *same spot* where the property likewise of the representatives is, they pay no other, nor higher *taxes*, but the *same* only, as the representatives themselves do : the second comprehends those who having *no* votes for the election of representatives to serve in the British parliament, neither by *freehold*, nor *charter*, nor *custom*, nor yet property on the spot where the representatives themselves have, such as the Irish, the East-Indian, the West-Indian, the North-American, the South-American ; What is to become of them ? What security have they for their property against British parliamentary taxation ?

Thus by a simple deduction of facts, out of the reach of controversy, a distinction arises creative of such a difference betwixt these two last species of *virtual* representation, as not only to make the latter of the two incompatible with the nature of the English constitution, but to destroy the very idea of representation itself. I say incompatible with the English constitution, because such a dispensation as this is, is founded in the unequal distribution of justice, which is injustice ; and because it is moreover in direct contradiction to one of the first principles of the constitution, namely, *the security of property*. I say too that it destroys the very idea of representation, for, as not even, like the enfeebled rays of reflected
light

light that terminate at length in darkness, does the shadow of the shadow even of *virtual* representation here remain; so the security of property being the very end of representation, where there is no security of property there can be no representation.

But now I may be told that out of order I have drawn disorder, that from light I have produced darkness; thereby leaving the constitution of England incomplete and defective. It is therefore incumbent on me, that, by shewing what becomes of those, and explaining what security they have for their property, who have neither votes for the election of representatives to serve in the British parliament, nor property on the spot where the representatives themselves have, I complete my analysis, restore the constitution to itself, and give a direct answer to this objection. Certain it is, that as this *second species* of representation here stands, there is a manifest defect in the English constitution: but it must be observed at the same time, that, as this constitution was originally formed for *internal* more than *external* use, this defect is rather *accidental* than *essential* to the system; rather ingrafted upon it afterwards, than growing out of it at first. A defect however, of any sort in the constitution, was not to be left without a remedy. In order therefore to supply by some mode of *practice* what was so apparently deficient in *theory*, that is, that the security of property, which is not only

only the end of representation, but both the cause and effect of all social compact, might be extended to every member of the constitution, thereby doing justice, and eschewing evil; the mode adopted was, that all those British subjects who had property *out of the realm*, should have representatives where that property was (property and not persons being the object of representation) in constitutional legislatures of their own. This is, this has been, and ever was the mode of practice; it has been sanctified by custom, more than doubling that limitation of time, which establishes custom into the common law of the land: it is now wedded to the constitution, making part of that great principle of representation, in which the very essence of the constitution consists; and being so engendered into existence, whilst the constitution lasts, it must remain: but when injustice instead of justice shall reign, when the insecurity instead of the security of property shall be the principle of government, then is the appeal to heaven; and *resistance* becomes the law and the gospel that is to determine the event.

This then is the ground upon which, confronting you, I have taken my stand. This is the plea of America against the *right*, or rather against the purpose-serving, anticonstitutional *claim*, of British parliamentary taxation. This is the single foe sufficient in defence against those many Titans of the state, dignity, supremacy, legislative authority, omnipotence

omnipotence of parliament, unity of empire. This is my answer, new perhaps in *manner*, though old in *matter*, to the old story over again of *real* and *virtual* representation. This is the argument so forcibly put, and so unanswerably maintained by Governor Johnstone, in one of the finest parliamentary speeches that ever was delivered upon any occasion whatever.* This is the subject so conclusively handled by that incomparable writer, the author of the "Appeal to the justice and interests of the people of Great-Britain;" and as what he there says is so much in so few words, I cannot but give you the quotation. "The security of property" says he, "as Mr. Locke and common reason tell us, is the great end of representation. It is equal enough when that is obtained. Now from the participation of the elected and the electors with the non-electors in the taxes which are imposed, the latter, as I before observed, have a virtual security, which is equal to that of those who do elect: but in the case of the Americans there is no such participation, and consequently no such virtual security; nay, on the contrary, as the givers of the money of the Americans (suppose them to be the British house of commons) save their own property and that of their constituents exactly in proportion to their lavishing that of the Americans, there is

" a temp-

* See Almon's Parliamentary Register, No. IV. p. 153.

“ a temptation to extortion and extravagance,
 “ and therefore a virtual insecurity of pro-
 “ perty, which is overturning the very founda-
 “ tion of government. If, for example, a
 “ tax is laid on Manchester, Birmingham,
 “ and Sheffield, the same is borne by Lon-
 “ don, Bristol, and York ; but let Boston,
 “ New-York, and Philadelphia be taxed,
 “ will London, Bristol, and York share in
 “ the burthen of the imposition ? The real
 “ situation of the unrepresented in England,
 “ and the people of America, if subject to the
 “ same power of taxation in the British par-
 “ liament, would be just as different as secu-
 “ rity and insecurity, or right and wrong.”
 No words can more strongly express the dis-
 tinction, with the difference that there is, be-
 twixt the *virtually* represented in Great-Bri-
 tain, and the *virtually* represented in Ameri-
 ca. The former, he tells us, are as effectually
 represented in Great-Britain, as the *really* re-
 presented there are ; and why ? because they
 have the security of their not being more tax-
 ed than the representatives themselves are ;
 and than this the *real* electors can have no
 better security : but the latter not having
 this, nor any other security whatsoever that
 they might not be overburthened with taxes
 by the British parliament ; the necessity arose,
 for justice sake, for the sake of the constitu-
 tion, that they should have representatives of
 their own where their property was, for the
 security of that property, which is the great
 end

end of representation. But to illustrate this matter by a familiar instance. Methinks I should have little fear of having my head broken, if the person who was to break it, was forced to break his own at the same time, and in the same degree too: but surely I should have reason to fear, and therefore should be very apt to hold up a stick in defence of myself, if the person who was to break my head, was to do it to save his own from being broken. What self-interest on the one hand prevents the doing of, self-interest on the other renders so necessary to be done, as nothing but self-defence can effectually counter-act. This is the parallel exact between Great-Britain and America: for if Great-Britain taxed her own property *unavoidably* in taxing the property of America; America would have nothing to fear from the taxes of Great-Britain: but so far from this, the very reason given for operating America with taxes is, that Great-Britain may be exonerated from them; and therefore the *cowardly* Americans, as they *have been bravely* represented to be, by the *bravadoes* of this country; as the *brave* reason, for levying war against them, in order to the levying of taxes upon them, are not only afraid of broken heads, but of being smitten on the right cheek; and then they must turn the left: and being stripped of their cloak, they may be told it is but *scriptural* to take the coat also. As to what may be said, in reply to this, of faith in the

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justice of parliaments for the security of property, I could wish there was more reason from experience for dependance thereon. The present parliament indeed, like the company present, of course is excepted: but there have been parliaments, as history will support me in saying, and in time to come it may so happen again; in which, if the taxes they levied on the people had not come home to themselves, a sufficient degree of complaisance might have been found, to have given and granted to the minister of the day, taxes, if called for, to the amount of twenty shillings in the pound. Under such a parliament what would be the fate of America?

Upon this state of the case then, and upon this alone, I would rest the whole American question: but to shew that the case is not barren of argument to support it on every side, I will mention two points of which I do not know that any notice has as yet been taken; and at which I shall but barely hint, not only because I am satisfied with what is already urged, but because I know that on reason, which is the result of argument, the question does not now rest, nor has it ever depended.

The consideration of the first point makes the following *postulatum* necessary, to wit; that no *free* state, annexing another state to its empire, can hold such state so made part of itself, under a form of government that is *not free*. To apply then this doctrine to the
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British empire. The basis of the British empire is the English constitution. The origin of the English constitution is compact, not implied, but expressed.* From compact arises certain primary, or fundamental laws, which form the constitution; and which are called, the principles of the constitution.† These principles of the constitution establish the government that follows from thence, and, for the execution of which, place the governing power in the hands of king, lords, and commons. The government is called a mixed government, or limited monarchy; and the governing power, the legislature, the parliament, or the three estates of the realm. Hence proceed laws as the *ultimatum*, or final cause of all.

From this chain of consequences, or deduction of causes and effects, the following

* Lord Coke asserts and proves "that Magna Charta is for the most part only declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental laws and liberties of England;" for although *William* by killing *Harold* the usurper, and routing his army, was stiled the *Conqueror*, yet he pretended a right to the kingdom, and was admitted by compact, and did take an oath to observe the *laws and customs*; which laws and customs were of Saxon original, and coeval with the first form of the constitution.

† Fundamental laws are, and should be, as concise as possible; and are expressive of the mutual compact between the governors and governed, for the benefit of both. They are as *immovable* points in a circle, whence all other decrees, acts of dyet, parliament, and assembly, flow. If these are preserved entire, the respective societies will thrive and flourish; if not, they will tend towards a dissolution. See Philipps's Fundamental Laws, p. 8 of the pref.

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corollaries naturally arise. That this governing power (so placed in the hands of king, lords; and commons, being *not* creative of itself, but created, in order to government, out of the constitution, by those fundamental laws, which had their origin in compact) must be subordinate to the constitution; maintaining those obligations of subordination that subsist between creature and Creator; and therefore can possess no powers of government distinct and separate, greater, higher, or other, than the constitution itself conveys. That inasmuch as this governing power of king, lords, and commons, has been said to be omnipotent; so that which is omnipotent cannot be subordinate: but this governing power of king, lords, and commons is subordinate, and therefore it cannot be said to be omnipotent. That so far indeed, it may be said to be omnipotent, as the constitution itself is omnipotent: but the constitution itself is not omnipotent, because it is subject to controul, by the higher power originally in, and ultimately residing with the people. That the people at large therefore, and not the constitution, nor the governing power resulting therefrom, are omnipotent; if omnipotency can be predicated of any thing that is human: but to ascribe omnipotency to mere potency only, is adding error to confusion both in terms and ideas.* This being proved,

* Though the legislative be the supreme authority of the commonwealth, yet it neither has, nor ought to have an arbitra-

ed, it appears, that the natural rights of mankind, so far as they are consistent with the end of society, which is the good of the whole, are protected by the fundamental laws of the English constitution; of which *freedom* is the corner-stone, supporting the three great pillars of the state, personal security, personal liberty, and private property. Upon these pillars must all the laws lineally rest, or collaterally have their bearings; if not, they are excentric, causing their own destruction, or threatening, till removed, the fall of the empire. For a law therefore to have the binding force of a law, it must be derived from the constitution, of which, *freedom* being the first principle, it follows; that *qualis est causa, talis est effectus*: but if it be not derived from the constitution, it can have no binding, nor any other force, than what the *ultima ratio regum* can give it; and even this, as experience teaches, is not *omnipotent*.

To these general conclusions some explanation may be necessary in addition. The king of Great Britain, although at the head of a free state, may, in his own right, hold other states under a form of government that is not free; as he does, for instance, the states of the electorate of Hanover. He may too, even as king of Great-Britain, by virtue of his

ry power over the lives, liberties, or fortunes of the subjects; and, should they manifestly appear to aim at such an execrable design, the whole people may justly call them to an account. See Toland's *Anglia libera*, p. 4.

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prerogative, and as generalissimo of the empire, hold a conquered state (for the time being) under a form of government that is not free; that is, under military law: but in the instant that such conquered state is by treaty of peace, or otherwise, ceded to the crown of Great-Britain, (the crown of Great-Britain being one thing, and the king of Great-Britain, in some respects, another) in that instant it imbibes the spirit of the constitution, it is naturalized, it is assimilated to the government, it is governable, and to be governed by and under all those powers with which the governing power of king, lords, and commons is invested by the constitution: but it is not governable, neither is it to be governed by any powers which the governing power of king, lords, and commons does not possess from the constitution; as, for example, it cannot be governed on the principles of slavery; because the governing power of king, lords, and commons is appointed by the constitution to govern on the principles of liberty: which proves my postulate, that no *free* state, annexing another state to its empire, can hold such state, so made part of itself, under a form of government that is *not free*.

I am aware that what I have here advanced is directly in the teeth of that great commentator of the laws and constitution of England, Sir William Blackstone. This able professor, speaking of Parliament, says, in his Comm. vol. i. p. 161. that, "it can regulate
" or

“ or new model the succession to the crown ;
 “ as was done in the reign of Henry VIII,
 “ and William III. It can alter the establish-
 “ ed religion of the land ; as was done in a
 “ variety of instances, in the reigns of Henry
 “ VIII. and his three children. It can change
 “ and create afresh even the constitution of
 “ the kingdom; and of parliaments them-
 “ selves ; as was done by the act of union,
 “ and the several statutes for triennial and
 “ septennial elections. It can, in short, do
 “ every thing that is not naturally impossi-
 “ ble ; and therefore some have not scrupled
 “ to call its power, by a figure rather too
 “ bold, the omnipotence of parliament. True
 “ it is, that what parliament doth, no autho-
 “ rity upon earth can undo.” Such is the
 doctrine of this great authority of the law :
 but yet, however consummate the authority,
 although, like the *αὐτοῦ ἐφη* of Pythagoras, it
 be held infallible, if the doctrine be found
 contradictory to reason, I can only say with
 Horace ;

Indignor, quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.

The learned judge tells us, that parliament
 can *regulate, new model, alter, change, and*
create afresh ; and these are the particular
 powers which he ascribes to parliament : but
 to *regulate, to new model, and to alter, is not*
to destroy. The parliament *regulated and new*
modelled the succession to the crown ; true :
 but it did not *destroy* the constitution in so
 doing : on the contrary, it acted upon that
 fundamental

fundamental law of the constitution, that the people have a right to pull down a *tyrant*, and to set up a *king*, with limited power, in his stead. It *altered* the established religion of the land; so it did: but with the strictest conformity to the constitution: for by engrafting *religious* liberty upon *civil* liberty, the mind like the body became free. But it *changed* and *created afresh* even the constitution of the kingdom, and of parliaments themselves. This was much indeed! But how was this done? The learned judge tells you himself, for he adds, “as was done by “the act of union, and the several statutes “for triennial and septennial elections.” But will the learned judge say, that there is any one right of the people in *magna charta* which the act of union oppugns? Is the *confirmatio chartarum*, the thirty-two corroborating statutes from Ed. I. to Hen. IV. the petition of right, the *habeas-corpus* act, the bill of rights, the act of settlement, or any *one* of those liberties therein mentioned, claimed, and declared to be the birth-right of the people of England *changed, created afresh*, or (*whatever may happen*) as yet, in any instance, affected by the union? Does the alteration of triennial to septennial elections destroy the fundamental right of the people to election and representation, or subvert the constitution of parliaments themselves? It would seem as if the learned judge had confounded the constitution of the kingdom, with the laws of parliament;

ament ; between which there is an obvious difference. The public or political law of a country is one thing, the civil or municipal law thereof another. The constitution of England is this public or political law, the laws of parliament the civil or municipal law. The former is the foundation upon which the latter is the superstructure. The superstructure may be *regulated, new modelled, altered, changed*, or even *created afresh* by parliament, whilst the foundation remains fixed, and immoveable only by the people. During the commonwealth of England the constitution was in reality *changed and created afresh*, though afterwards happily restored ; but it was the people and not the parliament that did this : it was the democracy, the house of commons alone, who stiled themselves the representatives of the commonwealth, and voted that the kingly office and the house of lords should be abolished. Modes of substances may be entirely changed, whilst the substances themselves remain exactly the same. As language is the dress of thought, so are laws of parliament the dress of the constitution ; both alike subject to change : but in both, the indentify of the one, and the idiom of the other, are preserved. Just so has it been in the cases cited above. By the act of union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections, the parliament *altered and created afresh* : but what did it *alter and create afresh* ? Not the constitution, but what it had

an undoubted right to *alter and create afresh*; its own laws, its own statutes, its own acts of parliament. To alter the letter of the constitution, by adapting it to those occasions which new circumstances give birth to, and to preserve the spirit of it entire, is the proper office of parliament, and the very business of laws. Under these modifications then of the *particular* powers of parliament, I entirely agree with the learned judge in the application of them; but in the *general* power which he ascribes to parliament I must totally differ from him. "In short," says he, "parliament can do every thing that is not impossible; and true it is, that what parliament can do, no authority upon earth can undo." Here I must presume that the learned judge does not distinguish between *right* and *power*: for one may have the *power* of doing an act, without the *right* that should accompany that *power*. As, for instance: I have the absolute *power* of committing *suicide*, but surely I have not the *right* to be guilty of such an offence against the first law of nature, *self-preservation*. I will admit that to prescribe what and what only parliament can do, is to foresee what is out of the reach of human foresight; because, laws, having regard to their first principles, may, in certain directions, branch out into endless variety: but to say what parliament cannot do, is within the compass of knowledge. I say, therefore, that if an act of parliament were
to

to pass, declaring, that *personal security, personal liberty, and private property are not the rights of the people, and that the subjects of Great-Britain shall henceforward hold their lives, liberties, and properties, at the mere arbitrary will and pleasure of the crown*; this I say parliament cannot do, though it is not “naturally impossible” to pass such an act. It cannot do it upon the principle of right: because such an act would be destructive of itself, by subverting the first principles of the constitution; out of which the powers of enacting laws are derived from the people to parliament. It cannot do it upon the principle of power: because the authority of the people, and this is “an authority upon earth,” corrupt as they are, would *enforce* the repeal of such an act; nor is the exertion of this authority of the people any thing unusual: for, true it is, that popular clamour has oftentimes caused parliament to undo what it had done before, thereby making the boldness of that “rather too bold figure,” omnipotence, more conspicuously to appear. Upon the whole, the learned judge has here, according to my ideas, mistaken efficiency for causality, by making parliament to be the cause, instead of the efficient cause, of which the people are the first cause. I say the first cause, because beyond the power of the people one cannot go; unless, as Pope says, “we look through nature up to nature’s God.”

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I was led to this manner of thinking, and of reasoning upon the doctrine of Sir William Blackstone, from hearing it asserted, and from having that assertion afterwards confirmed by the passing of the Quebec bill, namely ; that “ liberty was one thing in England, but that liberty was another thing in “ America.” By this act, out of a *free* government, and a *limited* monarchy, is erected a government that is not *free*, and an *unlimited* monarchy ; not only to the subversion of the laws of the land, but, by the establishment, instead of the toleration, of popery, to the suppression of protestantism, and the religion of the church of England : the consequence of which is, that the constitution now lies prostrate on the ground, wounded, bleeding at heart, and hopeless, but in the resistance of America for relief : for should slavery and popery be the lot of America, there needs no oracle to predict what will be the fate of Great-Britain.

Having given a more ample discussion to this point than I, at first, had thoughts of doing, I shall now be the more concise on the second point that follows ; and which is this : that *commercial* colonization, as supported by historical authority, by fact, by reason, by the definition of the terms themselves, excludes the very idea of taxation. Now were I to enter into the proofs of what is here asserted, I should depart from my intended brevity on the subject ; and therefore,

fore, conviction profiting nothing in practice, I shall leave what may be said hereupon to the speculations of the speculative. It may be proper, however, just to observe that *commercial* colonization is a new species of colonizing, of modern date, and differing essentially from every other species of colonizing that is known. The comparisons therefore that have been drawn between the Grecian and Roman colonies, "from the days of Thucydides down to the present time," have proceeded either from inattention to, or ignorance of, the subject. The excursions of people to ease a country furcharged with inhabitants, gave rise to the Grecian colonies: colonies planted among vanquished nations to over-awe, and hold them in subjection, such were the Roman colonies: but to the *colonies of commerce*, which the two last centuries have produced, it is laid down, and it is shewn, that *trade* is the *sole* object and occasion of them. When the colonies of Great Britain were established in America, Great Britain never dreamed of having a *landed* interest in America; or any other interest than a *commercial* interest there: but let these bare hints suffice for my purpose.

I come now to observe, that, from a retrospect of what has herein been said, as well as from a general review of all your arguments, "for a total separation of the colonies in North America, from Great Britain" I should have concluded; that hurt at the cen-
sure

sure to which you had been exposed, "of
 " your having dedicated too much of your
 " time to the study of commerce," you had
 purposely chosen this subject, and had published your tracts as convincing proofs to the world, how *little* you could have spent of your time in the study of commerce: I say I should have drawn this conclusion necessarily, but that I perceived in you other motives lurking behind; which, although like the sun under a cloud, or as the light that shineth in darkness, were yet visible enough to me.

It is to be remembered that you object to every kind of accomodation with America; no union of any sort will do: but salvation rests on separation, and on separation only. Now let me see if, by groping in the dark, I shall not be able to bring to light your true reasons for this proposed event. I shall therefore, in order to this, make one or two short extracts from your "*Humble Address*;" and to them I shall add a few observations of my own. "They think" (that is the Whigs think) "that by cherishing and protecting a republican government in the colonies, they are paving the way for introducing a similar establishment into Great-Britain. Therefore republicanism is the bond of union between these unnatural Englishmen, and their fellow-labourers of America." "Indeed the estates of the church, we all know, will fall the first sacrifice, should the republican party now prevail." "The state of parties
 " among

“ among us, and the growth of republican
 “ principles all conspire to prove, that we
 “ ought to get rid of such an onerous, *dange-*
 “ *rous*, and expensive connection as soon as
 “ possible.” These are some among many
 other inuendos of yours that might be pro-
 duced to the same effect : but these are enough
 for him that runs to read. As to myself I do
 not pretend to see farther than other people
 do : but looking only to the end of my nose,
 I perceive, that the preservation of *Toryism* in
 the *state*, and a *monkish* jealousy for the *hie-*
rarchy of the *church*, are the two great weights
 that have set your whole machine in motion.
 We have been told by a worthy prelate, by a
 Whig bishop, if I may have your pardon for
 casting such a reflection upon the cloth, “ that
 “ North America is the only great nursery
 “ for freemen upon the face of the earth.”
 You yourself have knowledge enough to see
 that such a country, possessed by freemen, is
 not to be enslaved. Whilst North America
 therefore remains united to this kingdom,
 Great-Britain with North America must be
 free. When the *high-flyers*, like *Icarus*, shall
 take their flight to the sun ; North America,
 by affording an asylum to those who are con-
 tent to associate with their fellow-creatures
 upon the earth, will be that sun to melt their
 waxen wings, and hurl them to destruction.
 North America severed from Great-Britain, a
compactness will be obtained; for this is one of
 your reasons for separation; which will effec-
 tually

tually produce the *stability* throughout the empire that you so ardently wish for. Furthermore : from North America being united with Great-Britain, an universal toleration in religion must continue. Every subject of the empire will have the liberty of choosing his own path, and of going to heaven in his own way. If he cannot find it in the east, he will look for it in the west; if it is not to be met with in the south, he will seek it in the north : but no man that can walk, will be tied to the back of another, and if he refuse, be persecuted, for conscience sake, with fire and faggot. It is however, objected to the North Americans, that they are enemies to *episcopacy* ; and that they have no archbishopricks, bishopricks, archdeaconries, rural deaneries, golden prebends, and such like goodly things among them : but what do they answer ? They say, that *episcopacy* is not essential to religion ; and that this *ecclesiastical* division of their country is but to serve a *secular* purpose. Whether they be right or not, is not for me to determine : but plain it is to me, that this is their *first* and *foremost* offence ; an offence which has roused the endeavours of so many to convert the present *civil* into an *ecclesiastical* war, that had this been the age of holy wars, an American *crusado* must inevitably have ensued. Hence arises your promised " letter to the dissenting ministers of North America." Hence, because Mr. Locke has rescued both the *church* and *state* from ignorance and superstition,

perdition, and placed them in the hands of common-sense (out of which, I trust, they will never escape) your threatened refutation of him. Great indeed is your design, but greater still will be your success. Refute Mr. Locke, turn common-sense into metaphysical nonsense, call down again from Heaven the vicegerency of the Lord, hold, by a *jure divino*, humanity in chains, tear up revolutionary principles by the roots; and to these important ends let the separation of America from Great-Britain (which “the estates of the church, the state of parties, and the growth of republican principles” render so necessary) prove to be the happy means.

But it is now time that I take my leave; and which I do of you in all christian charity. My only knowledge of you being through the medium of your writings, my sentiments concerning you could have received no bias from personal disrespect, or private resentment; and than this I have no further apology to offer in behalf of myself.

To the public too I am to bid adieu! and if a sincere attachment to legal liberty, if a zeal running nearly into enthusiasm for the English constitution, if being a firm supporter of the Hanoverian succession, a strenuous advocate for the limited prerogative of the crown, a strict defender of the just rights and privileges of both houses of parliament, a professed member of the established church of England; I say, if these be acceptable of-

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ferings to the public, I shall rest in hope that the errors of my head, manifold as they will here appear to be, will be pardoned for such the real feelings and dictates of my heart.

I am,

&c. &c.

Portman-Square,
Oct. 20, 1776.

P. S. The foregoing letter was designed to have been published many months ago : but upon calling to mind the question, which, in a note of your "Humble Address," you mention to have been put to you by the late Dr. Butler, bishop of Bristol ; to wit, "Why might not whole communities and public bodies be seized with *fits of insanity* " as well as individuals ?" and considering that the then state of this community was an absolute and direct affirmative answer to this question, I let drop my intention ; in hopes, that the paroxysm would be over, and that the people might return to their senses : but now finding that, from that time to this, not one lucid interval has appeared, on the contrary, that insanity every hour becomes more insane, that even Bedlam itself is broken loose, and the mad doctors are as mad as their patients ; it remains, that, by an undisguised representation of the truth, and by endeavouring to discover the seat of this disorder in the state, remedies, with greater certainty, may be applied, and a cure, if not too late, more effectually established. Hence then the now publication of the foregoing letter to
you :

you : hence this postscript, containing, within the limits of a postscript, such further notices as have occurred to me.

As in the very beginning of the present, unnatural war against America, its end was, in my mind's eye, one of the first objects of contemplation ; so here, leaving to others the practical consideration thereof, a theoretical view of it has more immediately engaged my attention. I have looked up to its source. I have considered its principles, its reasons, its motives, its object, its means, its end. I have traced its effects back to their causes, and between real and apparent causes have studied to draw the line of distinction. I have thought, and I have exclaimed with Ascanius in Virgil ;

Quis furor iste novus ? quo nunc, quo tenditis, inquit,

Heu miserae cives ! non hostem, inimicaque castra Argivum ; vestras spes uritis.

I have said, with the great Bolingbroke, where does all this *bottom* ? And I have sought for information. I have read the writings of the principal *state argument-mongers*, and of their several opponents. I have listened to discourse, and to speeches ; and although I found much cunning in some, and great wisdom in others, I did not learn what I wanted to know. I have questioned, and I have asked, upon what account is this American war entered into ? By one of the first state authorities I am told, that he has looked

into Montcalm's letters, and that he finds the occasion of it there: that America means independency; and therefore the sword of Great-Britain must be drawn, and the scabbard thrown away: that the Rubicon is past, before I could perceive the army to be in motion: and that, as a Swedish general said, in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, pointing to the enemy, "My lads, you see those men yonder, if you do not kill them, they will kill you." Noble arguments of exhilaration, as well as of acceleration to the horrors of a civil war.* Another tells me, that if the accursed stamp-act had never passed, this war had never been. A third says, that if the stamp-act had never been repealed, it would have executed itself; and quiet had succeeded. A fourth, that the declaratory-act is the sole

* To these arguments of incitement to a civil war, the following picturesque description of the calamities attendant thereupon is a striking contrast. "The rashly undertaking of a civil war is of all wars most to be avoided. Were people to take a just view of these, they would not so readily as they often do, engage in them. Set before your eyes the direful consequences of those wars; the laws trampled on, justice disregarded, violence every where prevailing, your country covered with the dead bodies of your fellow-citizens, and flowing with streams of blood running from the veins of many thousands of innocents; the father fighting against the son, and the son against the father; the wife betraying the husband, and the husband the wife; infants at the breast left to the mercy of men void of all mercy; virtue prostituted, and licentiousness riding triumphant on the ruins of liberty; all these, and many more, are the effects of civil wars, in which humanity in general, is entirely cast off, and all regard to ties of acquaintance, friendship, or even blood, is set aside."

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bone of contention. A fifth, that the Boston port-act is the fountain from whence flow these torrents of blood. When I turn to your Tracts, those treasures of political knowledge, there I find the origin of this war to be in the cession of Canada to Great-Britain. But are these things really so? Or rather are they not "springes to catch woodcocks?" Hoodwinks to keep shy horses from starting? Or strait paths for men to walk in, like Balaam's ass between two walls?

I have said that the present war against America is the result of a plan founded in system, and that the *landed* opposed to the *commercial* interest of the state, are as the means in order to the end. To support this assertion, if I should produce all the proofs that the nature of the case will admit, it is all that can reasonably be expected from me. In speaking of the transactions of our own times, not yet committed to the records of history, much must be delivered upon the supposed knowledge of others; much addressed to their experience; much left to their judgments to decide; and more to their candour to excuse, for the want perhaps of the most direct channels of information. Confining myself then to this single enquiry, it may be necessary that I limit too the bounds of my enquiry; and therefore at the *æra of favouritism*, whose period still rests in the monster-bearing womb of time, I shall here fix the date of the American war. This being done, I shall proceed
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to take, politically, a view of the state of parties at the demise of that best of monarchs, of that patriot King, George II. and then, after shewing what was the *Favourite's idea of government* at this time, deduce from thence what further arguments I might have to offer on the subject.

At the period of demise mentioned, the state of parties *in this country*, was, many, many loyal Whigs, friends to the constitution, friends to the government, friends to liberty, friends to mankind; some Tories, and fewer Jacobites. *Out of this country*, the Scots; and the other members of the empire, make no necessary part of consideration. This being; at this time, the state of parties, the *idea of government* was (I speak under favour of those who know better than myself) “ a coalition to take away all proscription for ever, from any set of men whatever; and to abolish totally any distinctions, for the future, of parties.” From this *idea*, a maxim of state was drawn, (let my judges be my witnesses) *that our friends being already our friends, it was necessary to make friends of our enemies.* Of this maxim there is no need of elucidation. Every body knows that the Whigs, notwithstanding the Tories joined with them to bring about the Revolution, have been the staunch supporters of the present family on the throne. The Tories and the Jacobites, no matter how many, no matter how few, Tories and Jacobites there have been, oppos-

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fers of, and enemies to, the present settlement. What was the disposition of the Scots, let the years 1715 and 1745 declare. To make, therefore, in the language of Lord Bolingbroke, these "enemies to the constitution, friends to the government," was now the business of those whom it did concern; and as to effectuate this design was the *causa sine qua non* of policy, so in what manner it was to be effected, will here progressively bring under my consideration, the system, the plan, the means, and the end which I have proposed to treat of.

To enter minutely into the consideration of that system, by the powers of which the wheels of government have long since been made to move, would be only to repeat that of which every one is already but too well apprised. Let it suffice then to observe here, that prerogative being put down at the Revolution but for the wholesome purposes of government, and now no longer existing the handmaid of arbitrary power; the system that was at that time devised, was at this to be pursued.* Shall I say the system of corrup-

* "Though Richard II. and many others of our worst kings, down to Charles II. dabbled in corruption, it may yet be said, that the art of governing by regularly and systematically bribing the house of commons came in at the Revolution. It was first applied for buying off the Jacobites, and has been going on ever since, till the sitting down of the present immaculate parliament, (the present parliament is always immaculate) and has of late times been applied to the buying off a set of troublesome men, who would otherwise have opposed the pious designs of the court." See Political Disquisitions, vol. i. p. 399.

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tion in order to *legal* slavery, or, not to offend the delicate ears of the corrupted, shall I call it by the milder term of *influence*? And yet that which is so countenanced, so avowed, so boasted of, so practised, can surely require no disguise of it, either in word, or in deed. In short, this was the system; and therefore for the wise and good purposes “*of removing all proscription, of abolishing all party distinctions, and of making our enemies to be our friends,*” whilst the loaves and fishes of the state, under the mask of œconomy, were to be broken, split, and divided, into posts, places, pensions, &c. &c. with riders riding upon them four or five deep, with reversions in expectancy, and remainders almost without limitation; under the auspices of favouritism, a distribution of them was to follow, among all the parties severally, save and except the Whigs; who “being already our friends,” and needing no conversion, were to be left to feed on their loyalty; and as it was fitting that the *chosen people* should be better taken care of than the rest, America, like Canaan of old, became the *land of promise* to the Scots.†

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† Facts, so notorious as these are, need no evidence but their own. But to anticipate any call for proofs, I must, with respect to the disposition of the offices of government in Great Britain, refer the reader to the annual Court Calendars, or *little red books*, which, in *black letter*, will give *great* insight into inquiry. Let him see too the Public Advertiser of the 19th of August last, wherein is published a list of the natives

Exoellent arrangement ! more excellent system ! But yet what shall avail a system, if the means be found insufficient to the end ?

tives of Scotland who enjoy emoluments from this government, to the amount, as it is there stated, of one hundred thousand pounds more than the annual receipt of the land-tax for the whole kingdom of Scotland, when rated at four shillings in the pound. As to America, information is not so easily had ; the registers of places there being only visible in the recesses of office here : but, I think, I am warranted to say that of these places three fourths have been filled by the Scots ; and as a proof in part of this, the following list of appointments at Jamaica is the extract of a letter to me from a friend of mine, resident in that island ; on whose veracity I can implicitly rest : but should the facts be otherwise than here represented, they are open to contradiction.

Governor	_____	Scotchman.
His Secretary	_____	Ditto.
Clerk of the court	_____	Ditto.
Register in chancery	_____	Ditto.
Half the profits of the provest-marshal's office	_____	Ditto.
Receiver general	_____	Ditto.
Naval officer	_____	Ditto.
Comptroller	_____	Ditto.
Fort Charles, 1200 <i>l.</i> per annum, at present held by the lieutenant governor, but goes on the 1st of June to		Ditto.
Secretary of the island	_____	Englishman.
Collector	_____	Ditto.

N. B. " Many other subordinate appointments under these, all Scotch. There is not in the civil, military, or revenue establishment, even a Creole of this country that enjoys any appointment of twenty pounds a year."

I must here take occasion to add, that neither from the insertion of the above, nor from any thing I have said, or may hereafter say, do I mean *nationally* any reflection, or *personally* any offence. In giving this short sketch of the history of our own times, I have done so with this impression on my mind,

" *Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri dicere non audeat,*" and to which if I have adhered in fact, as I have done in intention, I shall not fear (although truth has been adjudged a libel) the censure of any for whose good opinion I should in the least be solicitous.

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King

King William used to say, " If I had places enough, I would soon reconcile the two parties : " but Lord Bolingbroke, long after him, remarks, " that the necessary supports of such means were not yet acquired ; " and if they were not then acquired, they have not since been obtained : for although, by the payments of arrears, &c. the civil list has been considerably augmented, the other resources of the revenue enlarged, the national debt trebled, all of which, not to mention the state of the army and navy, is an increase of influence in the very same degree ; yet, considering in how much the numbers of the *needy* are multiplied, and, by luxury having gone on more than *pari passu* with the means of corruption, that the necessities of individuals too are become so much the greater, it will be found, that the demands of venality have increased in a proportion greater than the supply. That this is an undoubted truth, I presume, even the Dean of Gloucester will not contradict : for had it been otherwise, that is to say, had the wages of sin been adequate to the wants of the times, or could the miracle of the loaves and fishes have ever been performed again, the English constitution had long since not been what it now is. It has hitherto been preserved by the want of the " necessary supports ; " it will be destroyed whenever these " supports " are obtained.

Having said this, it seems to follow of course, that, as to fulfil the *idea of government*

ment of providing for all parties, except the Whigs, other ways and means must of necessity be found; so in America this pleasing prospect of resource being seen, after turning the minister of the day * into the stalking-horse

* It is worthy of note, that this minister of the day, after taking to himself the credit of being the author of the stamp-act, the direct object of which was bribery and corruption; when out of place, and in opposition, counteracted the court-system of bribery and corruption, by procuring another act to pass "for trying controverted elections." This act, I suppose, he intended, like charity, to cover a multitude of sins; and indeed it had its effect; for it made him many friends. But without adverting to the inauspicious hour of its birth, and looking upon it as the brat of opposition, I must profess to entertain sentiments of it very different from the general opinion. It is true, the *freedom of election* seems to be in its views; and this, towards reformation is, to be sure, a grand *desideratum*: but at the same time it must be allowed, that the reformer began at the wrong end. By this act bribery and corruption are to be suppressed: but where? *without doors*: and why? for a monopoly *within*. Methinks "he should have first cast the beam out of his own eye, that he might have seen more clearly to pull out the mote that was in his brother's eye." If it had been a place or pension act, or had it even gone, with the freedom of election, to a more equal representation of the people, he might then well have said with Othello,

"I've done the state some service, and they know't:"

but as it is, I may venture in the first place to assert, that no minister will ever loose from it a question in the house of commons; and in the next, that it is conceived too much in the spirit of aristocracy (which were the politics of this minister, whenever he was at liberty to have any principles of his own) to promise any good to the constitution. To me its operation is plainly that of excluding the *mercantile* interest from any share in the legislature, and to throw all power into the hands of the *landed* property; than which there cannot be a more decisive proof of the true interest of this country being grossly misunderstood: for landed men are not judges of trade, and trade (as it is somewhere most truly and emphatically styled) is now "the key of the empire." When there was

horse of the state, American taxation became the adopted plan.

Such then being the system, and such the plan; the means in order to the end now remain for my consideration. To carry this plan into execution, there were two things necessary to be brought about. The one was, a predilection for it in the *landed* interest of the nation; the other, that, being clothed in the forms of the constitution, it might receive the sanction of the legislature. The time was not yet ripe to avow, that American taxation was in order to British corruption. Something more *ostensible*, therefore, must be held up to public view; and “ ’tis true, ’tis pity, and pity ’tis, ’tis true,” but true it is, that to make the bears dance to the bagpipe’s tune, the *leader’s catch-word* was *Revenue*. Revenue! Sweet welcome sound! but *revenue* too must be sung to some tune; and the tune was, the *landed* interest labour under the heavy burthen of three shillings land-tax in the pound; the nation groans under the weight of 140 millions of debt; American taxation shall remove the former, and discharge the latter. To music such as this is, what dancing bear could refuse to dance! Music not only to

no other property in the kingdom but land, landed men were the only proper representatives: but now that the nation is 140 millions in debt, and the landed men cannot even pay the interest of the money for which their lands are mortgaged, *without trade*, such politics partake of phrenzy.

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sooth the savage breast, but feed the hungry appetite!

The *leader* led the dance; whilst
To his silver sounds, and golden measures,
The bears enlink'd, with one accord kept time,
And pace obedient.

Pardon, good Sir, the roughness of my metaphor. It is, I must own, like Shakespeare's simile of Lucentio's greyhound, "*something curriish*:" but it is rough only, as Russian bears are rough; and as I knew your attachment to whatever proceeds from that country, I was induced thus to give a loose to my imagination. I will, however, now return to thought less fanciful, and speech more plain.

As the object of revenue, the prospect of being disburthened from the land-tax, and the hope of discharging the national debt, were arguments sufficient for such of the *landed* interest whose ideas reached not beyond the circle of their own acres; so it was necessary, for the persuasion of those whose minds were more enlarged, not only to support the measure by these arguments, but to set aside the objections that might be raised to it.* Now the

* What is here said of the landed interest is meant for those who have been deceived by these pretences. If nobody has been imposed upon by them, nobody is meant. I must add too, that there are many many gentlemen of this description, whose understandings soar above the reach of imposition, and whose liberal minds disdain the sacrifice of *public* good to *private* self.

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Colossian objection which seemed to stride over all the rest, and to stare American taxation out of countenance, was; that commerce would be injured thereby: for what was taken out of the *one* hand by taxes, would certainly be lost from the *other* in trade; and therefore it was better not to grasp at the shadow, lest it prove in the end a loss of the substance. But the answer was, that commerce was now grown into a hydra, whose heads, unless lopped off, would devour the great landed property of the kingdom: that the influence of the country gentleman was already destroyed thereby: that citizens, merchants, planters, nabobs, Americans, buy up their estates from them, turn them out of their patrimonial boroughs, live more luxuriously than they do, and, to give you back your own words, Mr. Dean, "it is the *trading* and not the *landed* " interest which sets up most new carriages." This was the pathetic strain of deceitful oratory; and thus, with the rich prospect of being exonerated from taxes, of discharging the national debt, and of rolling in American revenue, was a spirit of envy and jealousy, as the wanted means of executing the adopted plan of American taxation, roused in the breasts of the *landed* against the *commercial* interest of the state.

I come now to observe, that although all should agree with me in the premises that I have here laid down, yet, I am sensible, there are many who, not having been led to think
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of these matters in the manner I have done, may, at first sight, and with great reason too, differ from me in some of my conclusions. It may be said, how is it possible to think that the *landed* interest could be brought to oppose the progress of commerce in this country! Do not the value of their lands, the rentals of their estates, their credit in every particular as individuals, and their very being as a people, depend upon commerce? And how then can one infer so unnatural a bias in them, and such a disposition to self-injury? The argument, I confess, is good in all its points; and its truth incontrovertible: but even truth and argument to experience, that best mistress of wisdom, must submit. That the politics of this country have been levelled against its trade is proved to demonstration by the effects of the measures pursued.—It is proved by the measures themselves. When the American war was entered into, there was every reason to believe, there was no *one* reason to suppose to the contrary, but that the manufactures of this country, its internal trade, its external commerce, at least the most valuable part of them, would be crushed in the contest; and yet the American war was entered into. That this has not happened, is owing to accident; for on accidental occurrences, trade has ever since subsisted: occurrences that may never happen again, and cannot now last.

Acts

Acts of parliament have passed intentionally injurious and expressly destructive of commerce: as of which the act "for prohibiting all trade and intercourse with America" is a woeful instance. By this act, the important trade of the West-Indies, nay, the very annihilation of the people themselves, were set at the hazard of a die: but to be less minute, (confined as I am to the limits of a postscript) the very principle of American taxation itself, is an actual declaration of war upon American commerce, and its exercise the total overthrow of it. "It is an allowed maxim," says the very judicious Mr. Wood, in his Survey of Trade, "*that industry has its first foundation in liberty; and it is certain that they who are either slaves, or perceive their freedom precarious, can neither succeed in trade nor meliorate a country.*" Of this doctrine there needs no application. If this author be right, the authors of American *subjugation* must be wrong. But further: this author not only supports this doctrine upon the principles of reason, but applies it to the very case before us; for he goes on to write thus: "I will not pretend to determine, for or against the opinions I have seen of our great lawyers, whether the *people* in our colonies and plantations have the right to all the privileges of *British subjects*: but, the contrary notion is too much encouraged, upon which account it will, peradventure, be a great security

“ security and encouragement to the *industrious* people in *that part* of the world, if a *declaratory law* were made, that Britons have a right to *all the laws of Great-Britain*, for the security of the subject, while they remain in the countries under the dominion of this kingdom.” How contrary this system of colony government, to the plan of administration pursued! How different this *declaratory law*, to the *declaratory act* passed.* One would think that this excellent writer on trade, as he is justly esteemed to be, foresaw the politics of the present times, and, in prophetic spirit, wrote for our instruction : but the truth is, he lived in days similar to our own. He lived when the *Tory ministry*, in the latter years of queen Anne, made trade the object of their destruction ; and as now, opposed the *landed* to the *commercial* interest of the state. His account of this business is so pointedly to the purpose, that I cannot omit the mention of it. After shewing the sacrifice that was made of the trade to the house of Bourbon, he proceeds to tell us, “ that this was not the only crime in respect of trade, the *then ministry*

* However unconstitutional the principles of the *declaratory act* may be, I must here say, that, looking upon it in the same light that the Americans did, I conceived it to be no more than an act of *accommodation*, if I may so speak, politically preserving, on the one hand, the honour of this country in *declaring* its supposed right of taxation, whilst, on the other, the right was done away in the repeal of the stamp-act ; and that it was never intended, as it has been since made, by the Machiavelian politics of an *efficiens cabinet*, the basis of future ruin to the colonies.

“ were guilty of, which they sacrificed in
 “ every part, as far as was in their power;
 “ and likewise endeavoured to create a diffe-
 “ rence between the *landed and trading inte-*
 “ *rest*, as the merchants and other traders of
 “ the city of London take notice of in their
 “ address to his majesty upon the late rebel-
 “ lion, then on foot in England and Scot-
 “ land, in these words;”——“ The endea-
 “ vours of those who laid plans of *ruin and*
 “ *slavery* for these kingdoms, have been not
 “ only to divide our religious from our civil
 “ interests, but to set one part of the *property*
 “ against *another*, by making the *landed* gen-
 “ tleman *jealous* of the trader, as if the inte-
 “ rests were incompatible: they could not
 “ have contrived a more effectual method to
 “ destroy their country, than by *discounte-*
 “ *nancing* trade, a considerable source of its
 “ strength and power. This was the proper
 “ business of men who designed to give up a
 “ rich and flourishing nation.” These were
 the politics of *those* days: how far they cor-
 respond with the politics of *these*, I shall leave
 to the *commercial* interest at large, and again
 to the city of London, when, in the fulness
 of time, the comparison shall be found expedi-
 ent. In the interim, information is open to
 all; and facts, I too much fear, will not be
 wanting to supply conviction: but as facts are
 sometimes known without due regard being paid
 to the motives from whence they sprung, it
 may not be impertinent here to remark; that
 trade

trade produces wealth, wealth begets independence, independence protects liberty. These are the reasons for which trade is considered in France, and in *all* other countries that are enslaved, not to be the profession of a gentleman; and, under this discouragement, is confined to the lowest class of people, from whose riches, for want of *family connections*, and *personal support*, the danger of independence is not apprehended. The same reasons will always operate in the same manner, whenever the same concurrence of circumstances exists.

Another ground upon which my conclusions may in part be disputed is, that however imposed upon the *landed* interest in general might have been, parliaments will take care, *ne quid detrementi capiat res publica*. That the present parliament will do this, it is, to be sure, our duty to hope and expect; besides it is but fair that their term should expire before judgment be passed on their conduct: for as the seventh year of their political existence may rectify all the errors (if any there should be) of the preceding six, so when the time shall come, I trust they will then be able to say with the church; "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course." But with other parliaments that have lived, and are now dead, the case is otherwise. Their time of probation is at an end, and their merits or demerits are already brought to the focus of every eye. A very worthy senator, Colonel Barré, who died with the last parli-

ament, but who is again come to life in this, has from the *dead* brought this evidence to the *living*. "The late parliament," says he, "began their political life with a violation of the sacred right of election, in the case of Middlesex; they died in the act of popery, when they *established* the Roman-catholic religion in Canada, and they have left a rebellion in America as a legacy." If we carry our eyes back to the parliament preceding the late parliament, we shall find as little reason for eulogy there: but where is the surprise of this, if we advert to the cause? The author of that most valuable compilation, entitled "Political Disquisitions," upon this subject, expresses himself in this manner; "Nothing," says he, "can be imagined more impudent than the attempt of some among us, to lull our jealousy, which needs all the eyes of Argus, asleep, by telling us, it is impossible, that eight hundred lords and commons should ever take part with the enemies of their country *or its liberties*. Do we not know, that in the four last years of queen Anne's reign, a majority in the house of commons, and a very great number in the other, were in the interest of France and the Pretender, and that if that ill-advised princess had not dropped at the time she did, the nation was in the utmost danger of being sacrificed. The majority of the commons, A. D. 1709, were Whigs; in the last four years they were Tories.

“ Such is the influence of the court over the commons. For the court interposes both in the elections of members, and in their votes in the house.” Vol. i. page 370. Now the reason of this, is; all men are naturally fond of power (though few know how to use it) and this fondness is by some carried so far, that they readily submit to be slaves themselves, in order to become tyrants over others. With a corrupt parliament this is just the case. The corrupted members of it are as great slaves as any where exist, and their slavery of the worst kind; for those slaves who know not the difference between freedom and slavery are satisfied with their condition of slavery: but the lives of these hirelings are one continued scene of thinking, and of acting, by the influence of others, in opposition to their own feelings, against the dictates of nature, and under the reproaches of conscience. Their consolation however is, that although enslaved themselves, they are the instruments of tyranny over others; and this together with the feeding of their vanity or their avarice, by the *entitling* of some who were *titleless* before, and by putting money into the purses of others, whilst it destroys all motives to virtuous action, it turns what was meant as an impenetrable phalanx of defence for the liberties of the people, into the most formidable attack upon them. From these and such like considerations therefore, it perhaps may appear that my conclusions
on

on this head too will bear the test both of reason, as well as experience; and as from corrupted parliaments we have the worst of all tyranny to dread, the tyranny of numbers, so it is the duty of every freeman of the empire to oppose, as much as in him *lawfully* lies, such measures as obviously lead to the means of such corruption.

Having thus, by the most conclusive evi-
dence, removed the doubts that might have
arisen in the minds of some, of the possibility
of the *landed* interest aiming at the suppression
of commerce, and of parliaments co-operating
with them to that end; I may be further cal-
led upon, and asked, how does it appear that
revenue, for the purpose of lessening the bur-
thens of the nation, was not the real object
of American taxation, but was made the
catch-word, or *ignis fatuus* only, to deceive
and mislead the good sort of people of this
country? To this my reply is, that it so
appears by the most satisfactory and convin-
cing proofs; so satisfactory and convincing,
that the *landed* interest begin to perceive it
themselves: for instead of taking off from the
land-tax, a shilling in the pound here, (by
way of beginning) and clapping it on Ame-
rica; an additional shilling in the pound has
been clapped upon them; that instead of pay-
ing off ten millions of the national debt here
out of America, (by way of beginning)
twenty millions more are added to the ac-
count; and that now plunged up to the ears
in

in difficulties, (besides expence) flouncing, floundering, and still getting deeper, they are already reduced to the miserable situation of not being able to get forward a single inch, nor eke to retreat a pace. But it may be said; that this is no direct answer to the question; for that which has happened, arising out of the firmness of American resistance, and from the adverse fate of war, no one could foresee the event; and therefore the question is, was *revenue* really, *ab initio*, the object of American taxation, or not? This is really the question; and therefore giving an answer to it in the short word *not*, I shall proceed to prove that this answer is the truth.

If corruption was, at the time I am speaking of, the system of government, as I have shewn, and which nothing but the effrontery of falsehood can counterfay; is it reasonable to suppose that any measures could have been adopted to lessen that influence by which government was to have been carried on? If the raising a *revenue* in America was with a view to decrease the means of corruption in England, this was not forwarding the business at all; it was only the robbing of Peter for the payment of Paul, when Peter and Paul, according to *the idea of government*, were both to be paid. If the national debt was a source of national corruption, by which government was to be supported; who is the minister that would wish for the discharge of the national debt? If the collecting of the land-tax

tax in England, besides the large sums it produces, was another source of corruption; what minister would part with the tax-gatherers? But supposing that a *revenue* had been to have been raised in America, and for the use of this country too; will any man, with two simple ideas only in his head, say, that such revenue so raised there, would have been applied to the taking off of any one single tax that had been imposed here? I should fancy no such person could be found: for every body must know, that taxing and funding now-a-days so assuredly follow one another, that taxes once levied cannot be released.

But from reasoning on supposition, let us now see what the matter of fact is. I say then it was known, of a certainty, from the very beginning of the plan of American taxation, that *revenue*, for the use of this country, could not be procured out of that; and in saying this, I am supported by the most undoubted authority. The authority I allude to, in the first instance, is the authority of one of the greatest enemies to America; and therefore to be depended upon: though he prove too one of the *worst* friends this country ever had. It is that of Governor Bernard, in a letter of his to Lord Hillsborough, shewing the inability of the Americans to *bear drawing money from them*; as he himself expresses it. The letter is this; “ I can readily recommend that part of the “ petition, which prays relief against those acts “ which

“ which are made for the purpose of drawing
 “ a *revenue* from the colonies ; for they are
 “ so little able to bear drawing money from
 “ them, that they are unable at present to
 “ pay the charges of their support and pro-
 “ tection.” Now if this be the opinion of
 Governor Bernard, who was resident on the
 spot, and one of the first movers in this un-
 hallowed business ; can any one imagine that
 the minister did not know that a revenue
 could not be had from America ? It may be
 said, indeed, that this was matter of opinion
 only in Governor Bernard ; and therefore
 upon trial it might have been found other-
 wise. Let us see then what experience has
 taught. The stamp-act passed : how much
 money was raised by it ? The enormous sum
 of eighty pounds ; as, I am told, the great
 Earl of Chatham asserted in the house of
 lords : but no matter for the exact sum,
 whatever it did raise, was that an object of
 revenue ? No. Why then persist in taxa-
 tion ? For the very reason that the stamp-act
 passed. And this will lead me, from shewing
 what the means of American taxation were,
 to the end designed by it.

It has appeared that revenue was not the
 object of American taxation, for it could not
 be procured ; which is reason enough : but,
 indeed, I have gone less into the proof of
 this, because every fool is now wise enough
 to know that it was *never* intended. The
 payment of the national debt could not have
 been

Q

been meant, because that would have been, as I have said before, a counteracting of the system, by lessening the means of corruption; and the same reason holds good for not discharging the *landed* gentry of their three shillings land-tax in the pound. But if neither revenue, nor payment of the national debt, nor even getting rid of the land-tax was meant, what was intended? The very thing that the stamp-act intended, and produced; which was not revenue: for the net proceeds of this tax were eighty pounds only, and this could neither help the payment of the national debt, nor supply the deficiency of the land-tax; besides what was to have been raised by this tax, was, in merciful kindness to America, to have been expended there: but how expended there? Most systematically. In what respect? In making King's friends; in providing for those who were to have been provided for by King's friends; in filling up the *idea of government*. But how does this appear? By the same unquestionable proof of the stamp-act. It appears, by the number of tax-gatherers, or stamp-officers, that, under this act, were, by other stamp-officers here, to be appointed for the colonies; and who accordingly went over to the West-Indies and America, in shoals, like fishes in search of their prey: or, as bees in swarms to suck,

“The honey dew on Hybla's flow'ry banks;”

"*Cæropias innatus apes amor urget habendi
Munere quamque suo.*"

until the frightful coats of tar and feathers dispersed, and drove them back to the empty cells of their own northern hives. And this was the end proposed by American taxation; an end, however, which I should have been happy to have found had finished what I had to say on this subject: but this end was not to terminate here. In it was conceived an event "big with the fate of Cato and of Rome:" an event, no other than the loss of British liberty, and the downfall of the English constitution. And when I say this, I am sorry to find myself so supported, both by reason and by truth; for I would wish to know that the English constitution was proof against all attempts to its injury under the sun; even the attempts of the *Pretender himself*, when aided by his oldest, most faithful, and most zealous friends and relations. But should a minister in this country have it in his power to alter the charters of America, and in consequence thereof, to appoint governors, lieutenant governors, chief justices, judges of the admiralty and common-law courts, attorney and solicitor-generals, in short, to officer all the appointments he shall choose to institute in the several civil departments there, including the legions of tax-gatherers necessary both for *internal* and *external* taxation; to station fleets on the coast, to keep up standing armies in every province, to build forts on

their rivers and lakes, and to garrison them, as in aid of the civil power must necessarily be done; and withal for the maintenance and support of these measures, to tax and raise a revenue in America by British acts of parliament: I say, America, under this military government (and which was intended for it) would become such a *sinking fund* of corruption, that no barriers nor dikes, however strong, that this country could erect, would be sufficient to prevent a general inundation of slavery over all the British empire; and of this even you, as I must do you the justice to acknowledge, are so sensible of, that in alledging your motives for a separation of the colonies from Great Britain, and looking upon these measures as the natural consequence of American subjection, you say in one of your tracts; “ I humbly submit it to be
 “ duly weighed and considered, what a baneful influence this *gouvernement à la Prusse*
 “ would have on every other part of the British empire. England free, and America
 “ in chains! And how soon would the enslaved part of the constitution, and perhaps the greater, contaminate the free and
 “ the lesser!”

But America has resisted. Conquest therefore is to effect what cunning could not obtain; and confiscations and forfeitures are to make good the loss of taxation to those, who, by forfeitures and confiscations, have heretofore been sufferers themselves. Until, however, I shall

shall see this with my eyes, and hear it with my ears, I must live in the hope; that the time may still come, when a temple of *Concord* shall be erected on *Constitution-hill*, (which place for its neighbourhood; as well as its name, I set apart) within which, whilst Britannia shall hold the *cup* in the one hand, and the *cornucopia* in the other, without, shall, in golden letters, be the following inscription :

America conquered in Germany,
British liberty saved in America ;

Immediately in the former,
Mediately in the latter,

Earl Chatham, author of both.

To this hope of returning union to the now disjointed parts of the British empire, nothing more desirable can be added ; and, therefore, after presuming that I have fulfilled my design, in shewing, that the present war against America is not the effect of the causes assigned by you and others, but of a fixed plan of administration founded in system, the *landed* opposed to the *commercial* interest of the state, being as the means, in order to the end, I shall conclude this *long* postscript with this *short* wish, in the fervency even of prayer.

May the authors, whoever they may be, of this Machiavelianism, or art of ruling tyrannically over a free people, like Machiavel, starve in a gaol.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

- Page 8. line 6. for *phamplet* read pamphlet.
 23. 26. for *conscience* read conscience.
 29. 12. dele put.
 63. 23. for *port-tax* read post-tax
 73. 28. for *virtaul* read virtual.
-

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